ARCHITECTURE and ETIQUETTE

changes in design of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Parisian *hôtels particuliers* (of the nobility) in relation to users' requirements and modes of life, and the changing interpretation of the rules of architecture and of architectural practices.

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Partlal plans at lower right-hand-side of plans

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the nobility, taking the requirements of their owners into consideration with a view to showing that there was a connection between these requirements and the complex *hôtels particuliers.* These requirements incorporated an adherence to the current rules and practices of architecture, to concepts of the convenience or *commodité* of the users and to what was considered to be appropriate behaviour. These requirements, and the use of the *hôtels* based on an understanding of the functioning of the society and its culture by the users as well as the designers, will be regarded as generators of the forms of these buildings. The end results (different in every case) will be considered as solutions to the problems inherent in the above, solutions whose object was the construction of harmoniously functioning houses for members of the household as well as visitors.

An underlying premise of this thesis rests with the German term *Kinderstube*. This term encompasses two distinct concepts: first, a child's nursery, that is a specific tangible room or space within a house, and second, the figurative sense of upbringing, breeding, behaviour, manners. These two aspects will be taken to be inextricably and intrinsically linked, and they will set the parameters of this inquiry, which will discuss the intangible relations between the architecture of the buildings and the manners and behaviour of the users of the *hôtels.*

This investigation was motivated by a fascination with Parisian *hôtels particuliers*, with their complex architectural forms which clearly convey the sense of architectural space that French designers used to affect people, in contrast to Italian building whose more abstract symmetrical compositions were more clearly appreciated on paper. The investigation attempts to illustrate the experience and usage of architectural spaces within which life and work took certain forms rather than discussing architectural styles. It is based largely on explanatory texts in treatises of which some elucidate accompanying drawings. Plans, elevations and sections in conjunction with written documentation will be considered, with a view to understanding how *hôtels* functioned. Though both the private and the public areas of *hôtels* will be noted, the private activities in them will be the main interest of this study, whether they took place in public spaces, as they did at the beginning of the period, or in private ones, as they came to do towards its end.

My interest lies primarily in the views and appreciation of the subject as expressed by those involved in it (even if their opinions did not always concur). This investigation is based on the still accessible material written in the period in question, both on architecture (i.e. treatises) and on behaviour (i.e. manuals of manners). This thesis depends almost exclusively on such source material, which will be largely quoted verbatim to give the reader a more vivid impression of the writers' views (descriptions in treatises etc., of other types of buildings will be included if these seem equally applicable to Parisian *hôtels particuliers*). In this study commentary by Englishmen is restricted to two knights — Sir Henry Wotton, at the beginning of the period, and Sir John Soane at its end — and to the agriculturalist Arthur Young FRS.

Published works did not normally include the plans of private spaces which occupied intermediary floors; to illustrate such spaces Chapter V includes tracings of manuscript plans (which include intermediary floors) of an early eighteenth-century Parisian *hôtel particulier*.

Since such *hôtels particuliers* were commissioned by specific clients (Office holders) for their specific use which needed to reflect their status, both internally and externally, the houses must be considered with two aspects in mind. Firstly that a fluency in the rules of architecture was a prerequisite for designing such buildings, and secondly, that they need be seen in conjunction with these clients, their way of life and customs. To that end some Vitruvian precepts of architecture are included, which concern residences, for though these were known earlier, it is the way in which the French viewed them especially after the new interpretation by Perrault which is relevant in this thesis. Also, since the lifestyle of *hôtel* users is now foreign to us, it would seem to require explanation, and Chapter II will be dedicated to them and their background, in principle. It should also be remembered that architects require clients who need houses, for these to come into existence.

With *Kinderstube* in mind, the inquiry will be pursued on the basis that those who entered and used *hôtels*, whatever their status and whether or not they lived there, were aware of the forms of behaviour commensurate with their status, with that of those whom they addressed and with the particular spaces in which certain interactions took place. Without this awareness, no structured society, structured households or smoothly functioning *hôtels* were possible.

This thesis will consider that the interaction between behaviour and spaces (i.e. between etiquette and architecture) in such houses, depended on Harmony. The Harmony appropriate to that society, will be seen as the subtle equilibrium that safeguarded against affronts (*choques*) in behaviour and against contrasts in architecture. As the essence of Harmony lies in the appreciation of guidelines or rules by which it may be experienced and gauged, it will be considered an evaluative and in a sense a controlling quality, which in this case helped to set standards of acceptability. The rules in the field of architecture, were Classical rules, and in the field of behaviour, the manners or etiquette accepted in Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The meaning of etiquette in this thesis will be that of *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1933): "the conventional rules of personal behaviour observed in the intercourse of polite society; the ceremonial observances prescribed by such rules".

In the fields of both architecture and etiquette, 1671 will be considered a year of crucial beginnings. In architecture, this is seen in the establishment of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* which, though initially concerned with royal buildings, influenced French architecture in general through teachings that were immortalized in treatises; these are discussed in Chapters I, III and IV. In the field of behaviour, the publication of the secular French manual of *Civilité* for the education of the young by Antoine de Courtin, which included a classification that clarified its rules, seems to mark a break with the past; this is discussed in Chapters II, III and IV. These beginnings led to later changes. The introduction to each chapter explains its aim more specifically.

The intangible relationships — based on cultural awareness — between accepted, codified behaviour and spaces in *hôtels* will be those operative in the complex noble household as a social group whose members had to know their place both actually and figuratively. The diverse relations expected of members of the household and of visitors to *hôtels* in diverse circumstances and in various spaces in these houses needed to be taken into account. Such formal interaction as well as other cultural changes gave rise to the self-awareness of the individual, and consequently to his desire for greater privacy, which led to the seclusion of private activities and their removal from public spaces. But this separation evolved only gradually

and its initial steps could be seen in furniture that created privacy inside the public spaces of *hôtels*. Some technical and constructional innovations in buildings which illustrate these changes will also be considered.

Not all the changes were documented and dated. Therefore, in order to indicate the approximate time of the appearance of new concepts and new usages, dictionaries of various dates within the period will be used to illustrate that certain expressions were current at certain dates.

A number of scholarly works on French architecture have been published this century; in the main they discuss styles of architecture. Some of these include *hôtel* architecture. Among them are the works of Sir R.T. Blomfield (1911 and 1921), W.H. Ward (1911), L. Hautecœur (1941 and 1943-1952), A. Blunt (1953), L. Benevolo (1978), A. Braham & P. Smith (1973), A. Braham (1980), R. Middleton & D. Watkin (1980), R. Middleton (1992), as well as some monographs on individual architects.

Some studies are dedicated almost exclusively to Parisian *hôtels* (not always of the nobility) in which internal spaces and details are investigated in greater detail, such as those by J-P. Babelon (1965 and 1991), M. Gallet (1962 and 1972), M. Dennis (1986) and M. Le Moël (1990).

Other works focused more specifically on internal planning in conjunction with considerations of the internal use of the buildings. These include the essay by R.A. Etlin (1978), studies by P. Thornton (1978 and 1984), M. Eleb-Vidal & A. Debarre-Blanchard (1989) and A. Pardailhé-Galabrun (1989, English translation 1991) and the essay by H. Murray-Bailey (1967). The observations and evidence of usage on which these works rely are largely subjective analyses transmitted through memoirs, diaries, correspondences and other contemporary personal records and anecdotes.

This investigation aligns itself with those who noted a cultural-socio-political drive, rather than a drive that was purely artistic, as the cause for the creation of *hôtels* and consequently for changes in their form. It looks exclusively at residences owned by that sector of society whose members held state Office, entertained large households, and commissioned architects to

design their homes. The owners themselves, that is the clients, their background, their households and visitors as well as changes made to increase the comfort or *commodité*, primarily of the owners, are taken in this study to be the motivating reasons for building these houses which reflected, in their spaces and details, the society using them.

Chapter I

HOTEL PARTICULIER : SOURCES & ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with teachings which were to affect the creation of the Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and for historical reasons will terminate with the French Revolution (1789). To this end various available sources that shed light on the subject are introduced to show how they dealt with it. Next, the academic State-approved Classical teaching of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* will be considered as the foundation of a new approach to architecture in France. Its influence on the design of *hôtels particuliers* will be noted through French treatises which proliferated during the period and needed the approval of the *Académie Royale d'Archiitecture* for their publication. The expanding published academic interest in *Distribution* of houses will be emphasized.

The period under investigation spans roughly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and as far as the status of architecture was concerned, is split approximately in half. The sciences were subject to the same State intervention that, during the Bourbon dynasty, interposed on all aspects of life as the State became progressively more centralized and more answerable to the king and his officers. The *Académie Royale d'Architecture* was formed in 1671 in order to turn architecture into a State controlled instrument in line with the French language, painting and sculpture, dance, science and so on. Like the other *Académies Royales* it was established to set royally accepted rules and to uphold their standards. The initial purpose of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* was to provide a new approach to the theory and practice of architecture in royal buildings. Its rules and standards were intended for royal architects when dealing with royal buildings. The rules known to be acceptable to the highest in the land filtered, through education, published works and built projects, to other kinds of buildings including the Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the nobility. At the time, books published in France required State approval before publication; since this task was delegated, the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* became the authorising and policing body for publications in its field.

The branch of architecture which made greatest progress in France, particularly after the formation of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*, was that of the internal layout or *distribution* of

houses. The extent of interest in the subject was novel and largely replaced the preoccupations of earlier treatises. Earlier treatises on architecture, aside from attention to technical issues of construction, concentrated largely on the description of various columns or Orders (their correct proportions and recommended external inter-columniations, according to different classical authorities). The permutations of Orders and inter-columniation offered the possibility of variety in the external appearance of buildings, despite the fact that the notion of Orders gave and gives the impression of rigid or finite solutions. Where Italian treatises of an earlier period dealt with internal *distributions*, their house-plans were geometrically rigid: mirror images about one or even two axes. In seventeenth-century France, however, an interest developed in what was regarded to be a correct or coherent *distribution* of interiors. This was to cater for the requirements of users whilst adhering to the rules of architecture, in areas which a person can see at one time without subjecting overall plans to unnecessary constraints. The interest in *distribution* covered palaces and private mansions both rural and urban, down to the very modest urban house. Schemes for *distribution* in modest houses were published in pattern books. Due to the importance of their owners' Offices the significance of *hôtels particuliers* in the urban-scene required compositions of exterior elevations and interior *distribution* and elevations which would reflect their status, and which relied on the rules of architecture.

Parisian *Hôtels particuliers* of the nobility, unlike domestic buildings of lesser stature, were commissioned from architects by their owners. Those who commissioned *hôtels* to be built had requirements which needed to be addressed and satisfied. With the increased demand for *hôtels particuliers* in Paris, the importance of appreciating the complexity of their design turned this form of domestic architecture into a subject which young architects needed to learn; practised architects taught it and subsequently handed it down to prosterity, as part of their treatises. French treatises on architecture published after the formation of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* discussed the internal *distribution* and decoration of the more sumptuous habitations at length. They frequently included illustrations of imaginary examples designed by the authors as explanatory aids for the elucidation of their texts.

BACKGROUND TO DOCUMENTATION ON *HOTELS*

When one comes to investigate houses like the Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one is faced with a variety of source material which was and in parts still is available. Broadly, this material falls into two categories: firstly, the houses themselves, and secondly, records, whether of actual *hôtels* or of proposed examples. Of the first little is left in original form, especially where the internal, private areas of houses are concerned. As for the records, the data available for consideration is divided into three categories: 1. texts, 2. illustrations, 3. illustrated texts. In addition the works may be classified as descriptive, practical, anecdotal and instructive. Needless to say, the approach of the different works in each category is in no way consistent in either quality or method.

1. Texts

1. Looking first at texts, one finds that *hôtels* featured incidentally in overall descriptions of Paris in which attention was drawn to some specific buildings. One such example is *Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de remarquable dans la Ville de Paris* by the French writer Germain Brice (1652-1727), first published in 1685 and enlarged in 1713 by the author. It described the city in the novel format of a tourists' guide-book arranged as a sequence of promenades. In each promenade buildings and sights which the author considered significant were described as one passed them *en route*.[1] Its popularity was such that by 1752 it had realized a 9th edition; it was translated into English by J. White as early as 1688. A later guide-book in a similar vein appeared in 1742. *Description historique de la ville de Paris et ses environs* by the French writer and member of a noble family, Jean-Aimar Piganiol de La Force (1673-1753) was accompanied by some maps of Paris. The treatment of objects and sights *en route* was unsystematic in both of these works. In some cases the façades and gardens of *hôtels particuliers* were mentioned, in other cases the most interesting internal rooms were described, in still other cases the pedigree of the owners was elaborated upon.

A somewhat idiosyncratic system of organizing material which dealt with the city of Paris was presented by the *Avocat au Parlement de Paris* turned historian, Henri Sauval (1620-1669). This text, *Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de Paris* was published posthumously in 1724. The houses which he mentioned were arranged in the historical, hierarchical sequence of the importance of their owners. His inclination was towards curiosities. Amongst other he provided

the following information about the Hôtel de Rambouillet: "*Dans la chambre bleue, tous les jours il se tenoit un cercle de personnes illustres, ou pour mieux dire, l'Académie; car c'est de là que l'Académie Française a tiré son origine; & c'est des grands genies qui s'y rendoient, dont la plus noble partie de ce Corps si considerable, est composée.*
"*Aussi est ce pour cela que l'Hôtel de Rambouillet à été appelle longtems, le Parnasse François.*"[2]

General legal and historical sources, such as royal edicts and declarations, customary laws, historical records, and so on. also touched on all manner and aspect of buildings. The first comprehensive compilation of the Paris Building Acts, *Les Lois des Bâtimens suivant la Coutume de Paris*, however, was published only in 1748. Based on royal edicts and customary laws, it contained transcripts of the lectures delivered at the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* between 1719 and 1728 by Antoine Desgodets (1653-1728) *Contrôleur des bâtimens du Roy*, King's Architect, Royal Academician and *professeur* at the *Académie*. This posthumous publication was supplemented with notes by Goupy, architect and expert witness. Throughout the nine years during which Desgodets delivered the public lectures at the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*, he covered: the Orders of architecture, the construction of domes, churches, and palaces, the decoration and measurements of buildings, the Paris Building Acts and case precedents. But of all these only the lectures on the Paris Building Acts and case precedents were ever published. The work was factual, as the title indicates, and intended for the use of those in charge of construction, of property owners, tenants, and judges.

Notaries' contracts and inventories after decease were other sources of written documentation on buildings. An example of the latter is the *Inventaires de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet a Paris, en 1652, 1666 & 1671...* edited by Charles-Jacques Sauzé de L'Houmeau, in 1894. Plans were on occasion attached to attorneys' contracts, but they were rudimentary. All material handled by attorneys is filed in the *Archives Nationales*, under the name of the attorney concerned, and not under the name of the house proprietor. This source was used by some twentieth-century writers on *hôtels*.[3] This fact makes the search of contractual plans a mammoth task. Though they might be interesting in themselves, those examined shed no further light on the present inquiry.

Of the writings purporting to express the aspects of the French teaching of architecture specifically and directly relevant to *hôtels*, some were written by men who were not architects. An early seventeenth-century example is *L'Architecture Françoise des Bâtimens Particuliers*, by Louis Savot (1579-1640) scientist, King's physician (to Louis XIII) and student of architecture. Vitruvius's belief that an architect should have some knowledge of medicine led Savot to assume that no knowledge was more appropriate for the grasp of architecture other than medicine. The title of his first chapter, "Qu'il n'y a aucune profession qui nous rende plus capables de l'Architecture, que celle de la Medecine...".[4] bears this out. His treatise, which was on the whole practical in nature, with moralistic undertones, concentrated on complex private houses of noble scale. He expounded on the types of rooms and internal elements of which they were composed. Despite all the technical practicality, however, he considered architecture an art, as his remark on the "*commoditez*" of a house shows: "*Les bestes sçavent choisir aussi bien que l'homme, & quelquefois mieux, la commodité de leurs repaires, & demeures: mais d'y apporter de la grace par cette symmetrie, elles ne le peuvent, parce que la connoissance de l'ordre, & de la proportion n'appartiennent entre tous les animaux qu'à l'homme seul...*".[5]

Savot's work must have been considered a success as it was reprinted in 1642,1673 and 1685. The last two editions included some explanatory notes and few sketches by François Blondel (1618-1686), whose qualifications read: "*de l'Académie Royale de Sciences, Conseiller Lecteur & Professeur du roy en Mathematique, Professeur & Directeur de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture, Marêchal de Camp aux Armées du Roy, & cy-devant Maître de Mathematique de Monseigneur le Dauphin.*"[6] Nonetheless, François Blondel's pupil Pierre Bullet (1639-1736), King's Architect and member of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* treated this work somewhat derisively in *l'Architecture Pratique* (1691). Bullet wrote: "Since the book by the physician L. Savot, entitled *Architecture Françoise*, in which he writes on measuring masonry and carpentry is so confused and useless...[the] book to which he gave a title that does no honour to French architects, since if architects would know only that which it contains, they would be greatly ignorant."[7] Bullet's text, with only few illustrated details, concerned itself primarily with surveys and measurements of building details.

Texts relevant to *hôtels* with varying intentions and from the hands of authors of divers professions appeared later. Amongst them was *Memoires critiques d'Architecture* (1702), by

Michel de Fremin (?-?), *President au bureau des Finances de Paris.* Its subtitle announced its purpose: to advise those planning to have their houses built of the fallacies of builders and of accepted practices, based on remarks made by himself. His work is mainly about materials and he gives advice on practical solutions to a variety of problems, amongst them chimneys, of which more in Chapter IV.

Another writer and critic of architecture who mentions internal spaces and elements in *hôtels* is *Abbé* Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-1769) of the Society of Jesus and later member of the *Académies* of Angers, Marseilles and Lyon. He published *Essai sur l'Architecture* in 1753 (enlarged in 1755) and *Observations sur l'Architecture* in 1765. His Pythagorean approach generally led to a somewhat pedantic concern with his idea of correct proportions. He also expounded on rules which he believed to constitute the basis of true or pure architecture.

More elucidating writings on architecture, however, were those written by professionals. Of these the most prolific was the eighteenth-century practitioner, teacher and writer Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774) architect, director of and professor at his own private school of architecture, theoretician, writer, member of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* from 1756, professor at and official historian of the *Académie* from 1762, King's Architect (Jacques-François Blondel is frequently mistakenly assumed to be François Blondel's nephew), whose last written work, *L'Homme du Monde éclairé par les Arts* (1774), is an illuminating text which, according to its author, aimed to "*...Rendre sensible ce qui doit être estimé; réduire à sa réalité ce qui a pu usurper l'estime; exciter l'indolence des gens du monde, en leur offrant les avantages de l'instruction, sans exiger les peine de l'étude; fournir aux femmes le prétexte d'une application, en paroissant leur offrir un amusement...*".[8] This work imparted its architecturally educational content in an unusual literary form, as did that of de Fremin (*see below*, pp. 40-3).

Another architectural teaching text on such buildings for the nobility as *hôtels particuliers* is by Nicolas Le Camus de Mezières (1721-1789). In 1780 he published *Le Génie de l'Architecture ou l'Analogie de cet Art avec nos Sensations* which relied heavily on the subjective, emotive appreciation of architecture, as might be surmised from its title. In addition to imparting valuable contemporary information, it would appear to be the first French treatise to discuss children and servants in its detailed space requirements for various members of noble households. In the

following year he published *Le Guide de ceux qui veulent batir* (1781), a text complete with calculations on the practical workaday issues of building, including materials, finance, matters of construction and so on. In this work he set out as Fremin had done before him, to warn the reader of the tribulations he might encounter when undertaking a project, or, to quote the subtitle: "*Ouvrage dans le quel on donne les renseignemens nécessaires pour réussir dans cet Art, & prévenir les fraudes qui pourroient s'y glisser.*"

Of these two texts, which exemplify the two extreme perspectives on architecture, the poetic and the workaday, the 1780 publication is of greater interest here. Its detailed descriptions of usage, space requirements, the spaces themselves — particularly the domestic areas of such buildings as *hôtels* — were expressed in terms of atmospheric sensations which various elements and colours were purported to generate.

2. Illustrations

The pictorial evidence on *hôtels particuliers* is much more concrete. This classification includes architectural drawings as well as artists' drawings, engravings, paintings and other illustrated records depicting both internal and external views of mansions in whole or in part. From them one can draw a whole spectrum of impressions on the subject at different times. Of greater value here,however, are architectural drawings which appeared in different forms and for different purposes: A. for copying (i.e. forming parts of manuals used by builders, contractors, tradesmen, entrepreneurs and clients); B. for reference, interest and collection (i.e. compilations of plans, sections, elevations, details and so on, in large folio format, for display and interest); and C. for building purposes (i.e. working drawings produced by members of the building trade, including architects and technicians). Some supplementary illustrations from sources not purely architectural are relied on where appropriate.

A. Illustrations of *hôtels* and other buildings of the period are found in bound compilations of drawings for use as manuals or pattern books. François I (1515-1547) already commissioned a treatise on architecture, in French, from Sebastien Serlio (1475-1553) to foster the education of masons who worked on and administered the works in royal buildings.[9] Serlio, who had published *Tutte L'opere d'architectura et prospetiva* (1537 & 1551) in Italian, (French translation 1545-50) had dedicated part of it to residential buildings. The influence of Serlio's

treatise on French architecture, however, was interrupted during the extended wars which ravaged France.

The earliest French seventeenth-century work to illustrate residential buildings was by a practising architect, Pierre Le Muet (1592-1669), King's Architect, Controller of designs for fortifications in the province of Picardie. His *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de Personnes* (1623; enlarged 1647; 1663) was a collection of architectural plans and elevations principally of modest, urban houses. Regular, rectangular, extensive plots on which the nobility could build *hôtels particuliers* were very rarely available in Paris in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. In an old city like Paris with its meandering roads, sites were generally small. Large sites were conglomerations of smaller plots which had been joined up in a piecemeal fashion over the years. This was the reason for the very irregular shapes of the large plots on which most *hôtels particuliers* were built.[10] The progress of the changes in plot sizes and shapes is easily detectable from contemporary plans of Paris.[11]

The anonymously published *Architecture Moderne ou l'art de bien batir pour toute sortes de Personnes* of (1728) appeared over 100 years after the original publication of Le Muet's *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de Personnes* (1623). The similarity of their titles alone suggests the similarity of their content. Each is primarily a pattern book. The title of the later one, which included the expression *Architecture Moderne*, suggests a modern up-date of the earlier work, or at least a parallel undertaking (*Architecture Moderne* has long suffered from wrong attribution, *see below*, pp 19-20). In both these pattern books for builders, clients, and minor architects, the authors marked the precise dimensions of plots for which they devised external and internal planning solutions. Le Muet's smallest plot measured 12x21.5 *pieds* [1*pied* = 0.3248 meters[12]] (fig. 1) whilst in the later work the smallest measured 15x30 (fig. 2). The illustrations are in these works more relevant to this argument than the texts.

A different type of illustrated work published in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also belonged in the category of pattern books. These works showed engravings of architectural plans, elevations, perspectives and details suited for grander houses. An early example was *Recueil des plans, profils et elevations des plusieurs Palais, Chateaux Eglises Sepultures, Grotes et Hostels Batis dans Paris, et aux environs* probably published between

1645 and 1660 according to Anthony Blunt.[13] It was known as the *Petit Marot* because of its size. Though he was an architect, Jean Marot (1630-1669) was better known for his engravings than for his architectural compositions. J-F. Blondel noted that he "can be regarded as architect, less for his theories than for his principal talent of engraving".[14] The *Petit Marot* depicted buildings designed by others which Marot had measured and engraved in great detail. The illustrations were therefore of actual noted buildings, rather than theoretical exercises or proposed inventions. The three-volume collection of plates drawn and engraved by Jean Le Pautre with supplementary drawings by Jean-Baptiste-Alexandre Le Blond, Jules Hardouin-Mansart and others is similar in kind. It contained architectural details and garden designs, and appeared between 1657 and 1685. Like the *Petit Marot*, Le Pautre's work was a collection of illustrations with no text, no architectural message.

B. A more elaborate version of the pattern books is embodied in compilations of engraved plates of plans, sections, elevations and so on, of buildings in large folio formats bound in impressive volumes. Because of their size and cost they were display objects, collectors' items too expensive and cumbersome for builders and craftsmen to use. Under this heading come such works as the *Grand Marot* (late 1660s), similar to the *Petit Marot* but in larger format and *l'Architecture Françoise ou Recueil des plans, Elevations, Coupes et Profils des Eglises, Palais, Hôtels et Maisons Particuliers de Paris* (1727), by the engraver Jean Mariette (1654-1742). In such works the authors measured, and engraved, but did not design the buildings. On the other hand, the French architect Jean-François de Neufforge (1714-1791), who dedicated himself to the theory rather than the practice of architecture, published *Recueil Elémetaire d'Architecture* between 1757 and 1780. There are 8 volumes and 2 supplements, in folio format. The illustrations of different types of building were examples of his own invention. Two of the volumes dealt with plans for *bâtimens des bourgeois*, whilst elevations and details suitable for such buildings were spread throughout the work. Like their smaller counterparts, these pattern books or collections of plates had no text.

A different type of architectural book, in folio, with extendible plates, was produced by Germain Boffrand (1667-1754), King's Architect, member of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*, first architect and General Inspector in the Administration of Roads and Bridges. His *Livre d'Architecture contenant les Principes généraux de cet Art et les Plans, Elevations et Profils de*

quelques-uns des Bâtimens faits en France et dans les Pays Etrangers (1745) seems to fall into two categories. On the one hand it is clearly a display book, yet it carried an architectural message; because of its size and large drawings, however, I have included it amongst the display or collectors' items. The first four chapters concentrate on what Boffrand considered to be the general principles of architecture. These cover a dissertation on "*le bon goût*" in architecture; principles based on Horaces's poetic art; essays on the possible proportions of the three Orders of architecture when superimposed in a façade; and internal decorations and furnishing. The remainder of this work is dedicated to buildings, as proclaimed in the title. The plans and so on, of habitable buildings were accompanied by explanations of room usage and location.

A few years later (1752-6) J-F. Blondel published a four-volume work in folio entitled *Architecture Françoise.* Like his other architectural publications, it combined theory and plans included *hôtels particuliers*, here arranged by *quartiers* of Paris. Its written content, particularly in the first volume, reflects his usual depth and thoroughness and places it amongst the professional teaching works, such as those of Boffrand.

L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'Art des mœurs et de la législation (1804-46), two extra-large volumes by Claude-Nicholas Le Doux which covered his own proposed, and executed works between 1768 and 1789, is mentioned here only in passing. This is because of his tendency towards idealized designs, including those of *hôtels particuliers* in Paris, towards the end of the period.

C. The last of the illustrated categories to be considered here is of construction drawings. Existing manuscript drawings in French National Archives vary greatly in the information they impart and in the quality of drawings. Some plans specify the names of room-occupants, in others room usage was not even mentioned. Some alteration-drawings indicated, for example, the introduction of new fireplaces in rooms (including servants' rooms) where none existed previously.[15]

Drawings in this category are the hardest to find today. One of the commonest reasons for the dearth of this material is expressed in the phrase "destroyed during the Revolution". As some of

the buildings date back some 350 years, and since the French, for whatever reason, seem not to have preserved many original drawn records of their buildings, one is left in the main with the published material. J-F. Blondel seems to have noticed this national characteristic: "*Le génie de notre Nation est plus portée à faire de grandes actions qu'à prendre soin d'en conserver le souvenir...*".[16]

Discrepancies sometimes arise between the different types of sources mentioned. The actual working drawings of a building need not necessarily correspond exactly either to drawings of the same building measured and published later, or to published drawings of the projected building, before the working drawing. An example is presented in the final chapter of this thesis. This should also clarify the difficulties of showing intermediary floor-plans in books and explain why plans of intermediary floors were absent in published works. Also, existing drawings of *hôtels* (when one can find them), whether in manuscript or in published form, did not usually indicate later alterations to the original design. There were exceptions, however (see *hôtel de Soyecourt*), but even then it is impossible to tell if and when further alterations were undertaken, as not all works were recorded and not all the records are available. Lastly, there is the example of Hôtel Matignon, designed by Jean Courtonne, the published engravings of which appeared in *Architecture Françoise* (1727) by J. Mariette. From Courtonne's writings in *Traité de la Perspective pratique avec les Remarques sur l'Architecture* (1725) we learn that after Courtonne had designed the building its proprietor was dissatisfied and asked other architects to comment on its design. One architect eventually agreed to do so. Courtonne left the job, and the construction of the building was not under his supervision.[17] It is therefore now difficult to know precisely what changes were made to the original design, and whether the plates by Mariette reflected the actual building or the original drawings by Courtonne. The legend on Mariette's engravings reads: "after J. Courtonne". All these points contribute towards the difficulty of knowing with certainty the true configuration of a building at any particular stage, especially with regard to internal, minor spaces.

Today, only a handful of the extant *hôtels* are in private hands and used as private dwellings. Even then, their owners are not necessarily in possession of either the original plans or the records of later changes or the dates of these, as I was made aware by the *comtesse Philippe de Compiegne* née Pozzo di Borgo. Her family have owned the Hôtel de Soyecourt since

1839. The *Hôtel* was originally commissioned from Cailleteau *dit* Lassurance by the *marquis de Maison* of the *Parlement de Paris* in 1706. In 1732 Madame de Soyecourt inherited it from Posper de Longueil, and it was passed on to her grandson, the *marquis de Soyecourt* in 1746. From 1757 Mme de Soyecourt's heirs leased the *hôtel* to the Spanish ambassadors to Paris. In 1824 it was acquired by the *duc de Blancas*, and in 1839 the Ambassador Pozzo di Borgo, from Corsica, purchased the property.[18] The *comtesse's* family archives do not contain plans of the original project, or of subsequent alterations to the *hôtel.* J-F. Blondel, however, in *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6) describes the *Hôtel* in words and plates. According to Blondel, the house was built in 1708 after drawings by Lassurance for the owner, the *marquis de Maison*. It then passed into the possession of the *marquis de Saucourt* (Blondel's spelling), who owned it at the time of Blondel, who wrote: "*...M. le Marquis de Saucourt...vient d'y faire des très grandes augmentations sur les desseins de M. Mouret architecte. Ces changemens ont rendu cet Hôtel un des plus considérables qui soit à Paris pour une maison particuliere...*".[19] He also added the note that: "*Mr. Mourat...est un Architecte qui s'est acquis beacoup de réputation par les différens bâtimens qu'il a élevés à Paris, tel que...l'Hôtel de Saint Simon.*"[20]

During the nineteenth century many *hôtels particuliers* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suffered greatly in private ownership. Before their complexity and beauty came again to be appreciated late in the twentieth century, owners considered such buildings cumbersome properties.

3. Illustrated texts

Sources on buildings in general, and on *hôtels particuliers* in particular, that combine text with illustrations are much more complex, instructive and interesting. They are the substance of French architectural treatises which appeared after the formation of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* and proliferated in the eighteenth century. Earlier French treatises had been concerned primarily with the Orders of architecture. This new kind of material, from the hand of architect/teachers, was published with explanatory drawings meant to be read in conjunction with the very detailed text which helped to explain the reasoning and intentions behind the planning of the minutiæof the design. Although these explanatory drawings were originally intended to illustrate specific texts for didactic purposes, they can be used as a means of observing changes in French architecture as these occurred over time. This study will rely on

these treatises as a source, where appropriate, for the explanatory support they supply.

The earliest of these French treatises which, expounded on domestic buildings as well as on the Orders was *Cours d'Architecture* (1691, revised 1710 with an added chapter; accompanied by a *Dictionnaire d'Architecture* in a separate volume), by Augustin-Charles d'Aviler (1653-1700), King's Architect, Architect to the Province of Languedoc, who had published his translation of Scamozzi's *Sixth Book of Architecture* in 1685. In his *Cours d'architecture* he used the Orders after Vignola, which d'Aviler said "*...ont passé jusqu'à present pour les meilleur d'entre les Modernes...*".[21] The significance for this study of d'Aviler's work lies in the space he devotes to the grander habitable buildings and the detail in which he explains them. The engravings (plans, sections and elevations) were of houses of his own invention for the purpose of his teaching. These original chapters, written and illustrated by d'Aviler, and published in their original form in 1696 and 1699, appeared in all later publications of the work as well. D'Aviler was working on expanding when he died in 1700. Le Blond subsequently supplied d'Aviler's extended work with relevant drawings. The enlarged edition of d'Aviler's *Cours d'Architecture* (1710)[22] included the new chapter entitled: "De la Nouvelle Maniere de Distribuer les Plans". It embodies some clearly expressed changes that had occurred in the intervening years. The 1710 edition had been reprinted several times by 1750 when Pierre-Jean Mariette introduced some engravings of more up to date interior decorations. Because of its drawings, and because of the architectural competence of the writer, d'Aviler's work is clearer and considerably more useful than Savot's, yet a comparison of the two serves to delineate the different attitudes to houses prevalent at the times in which they were written.

J-F. Blondel published in two volumes his first work, best known as *De la Distribution des maisons de Plaisance et de la Décoration des Edifices en Général* in 1737 and 1738. The half-title page has: *Traité d'Architecture dans le goût moderne*, to which Blondel refers in the preface to *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6), as *Traité de la Décoration des Edifices*. In this thesis this work will be referred to by its half-title *Traité d'Architecture dans le goût moderne*. As the full title indicates *distribution* played a major part in the treatise, and the Orders were considered only marginally. Strictly speaking it discussed country residences and not *hôtels*, but it will nonetheless be included in this study because of its very detailed explanations in words and illustrations. It discusses *distributions* of houses inhabited by members of the French nobility,

taking into account their lifestyle and at least a part of the complex households the nobles inhabiting Parisian *hôtels particuliers* would have found necessary. His 9-voume *Cours d'Architecture ou Traité de la Décoration, Distribution and Construction des Bâtiments* (1771-1777), published partly posthumously and completed by P.Patte, was based on transcripts of the lectures which he delivered at his school from 1750 onwards.

Some clarification of the confusion which existed, and in part still exists, concerning the anonymously published *Architecture Moderne ou l'art de bien batir pour toutes sortes des personnes* (1728) seems necessary. Its title-page bore only the name of its publisher, Charles-Antoine Jombert. The confirmation of its approval by the *Académie* comes with the information that on Monday 27th June 1728, M. Roux delivered the said work for examination, and that the *Académie* found nothing in it that could bar its printing, undersigned, the Secretary of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*, Félibien. According to Michaud's *Bibliographie Universelle* (1843), this work was for a time mistakenly attributed to J-F. Blondel. It was assumed to be the precursor to Blondel's *Traité d'Architecture dans le Goût Moderne* (1737-8). Michaud then attributed the work to Charles-Etienne Briseux (1680-1734) a pupil of François Blondel's, and a celebrated architect in his time.[23] In 1860 G-A. Prost (1817-1896), Member of the *Académie Impériale* of Metz, stated — on the basis of J-F. Blondel's writings — that *Architecture Moderne* was in fact, by Tiercelet.[24] Nonetheless, Michaud's mistake persisted, evinced in Kurt Cassirer's 1909 PhD thesis. Cassirer refers to the mistaken attribution of the work to Briseux by Cornelius Gurlitt (1830-1938), whilst he himself attributed the work to Jombert.[25] This confusion seems to persist until today in British libraries, including the British Library, where the work is still attributed to C-E. Briseux, as it is in the printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale. In the *Catalogue des Livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1963) Tiercelet is not mentioned as the author of *Architecture Moderne* (1728). In an article in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1959) W. Herrmann appears to have settled this matter for American Libraries, at least.[26] Herrmann's source, like Prost's, was J-F. Blondel himself in *Discours sur la necessité de l'étude de l'Architecture* (1754), in which he wrote: "*...par M. Tiercelet; ouvrage assez utile pour les Praticiens.*" (in the same place J-F. Blondel considered Briseux's *l'Art de batir des Maisons de Campagne* (1743): "*...ouvrage estimé pour la partie qui concerne la distribution.*")[27] This seems to have settled the enigma of authorship with some English language libraries acknowledging Gilles Tiercelet. The popularity of this work was such that it was republished in

enlarged form by the French man of letters, publisher, and bookseller Jombert in 1764.

The wrong attribution of *Architecture Moderne* to C-E. Briseux may be due to its overall similarity to Briseux's 1743 publication *l'Art de bâtir les Maisons de Campagne où l'on traite de leur Distribution, de leur Construction, et de leur Décoration.* This work covered some basic teaching of architecture, followed by examples, designed by the author, of possible *distributions* on sites of specific dimensions. The similarity of these two works is notable for the absence of the Orders, and for their total concentration on *distribution*, with limited architectural teaching.

THE *ACADEMIE ROYALE D'ARCHITECTURE*

The centralized institutions of the State, which arose from the State's perception of itself, were gradually changing the structure of French society. Monarchs and their advisors (Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert and so on) each in his turn shaped a new image to broaden the powers of State and through the State to increase the glory due to the monarch and to France. These machinations were transmitted through royal bodies or institutions and gradually filtered into every sphere of life. The *Académie Royale d'Architecture* possessed no legislative or enforcing powers, its influence rested on direction and guidance which spread through teaching and practice. Yet published works on architecture, which were also an important form of teaching material, had to undergo the usual procedure for all publications in France at the time, which entailed royal approval. After the formation of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* this task or power of approving published works of architecture was delegated to it as representative of the King (members of the *Académie* were of course royally approved). Thus all published architectural works in France may be regarded, at the very least, as not having been in contradiction to approved opinions, and at most, as expressing the accepted views of the relevant authority and through it of the King.

Nationalism in French architecture.

In the relative internal peace of a united France in the reign of Henri IV (1589-1610), with Paris the permanent royal residence, architectural projects in Paris resumed. The pride in France which ensued with the Bourbon dynasty encouraged the rejuvenation of the arts and sciences, from the reign of Louis XIII onwards, through State approved *Académies Royales* designed to

improve and promote excellence. Under Louis XIV (reigned actively 1651-1715) this glory, refinement and eminence in both behaviour and the arts placed France, Paris and Versailles in particular centre stage in Europe.

Nationalism in the French consciousness, which filtered into French architecture and architectural writings, can be taken as far back as Philibert de l'Orme with his suggestion of creating a French Order of architecture. This he proposed to architects with possibilities for variation: "*S'il a esté permis aux anciens Architectes, en diuerses nations & païs, d'inuenter nouuelles colõnes, ainsi que feirent les Latins & Romains...qui empeschera que nous François n'en inuentions quelques vnes, & les appellions Françoises...*".[28] His Order, of Corinthian proportions embellished with French ornamentation was not a great success. François Blondel searched for a French Order for a fairly specific reason: "*La question est...de quel Ordre on pourroit faire une Ordonnance que l'on voudroit élever au dessus d'un Ordre Composé, & s'il ne seroit pas à propos d'en chercher & d'en inventer un nouveau pour en faire un sixiéme Ordre...que l'on devoit appeller l'Ordre François.*"[29] He went on to say that even though the King invited the most talented men of the century to invent a sixth Order befitting the name "French Order", only Gothic and other horrors were proposed, based on the Composite, or Italic, Order.

The entry for *Ordre François* in d'Aviler's dictionary makes no mention of de l'Orme but repeats the Corinthian proportions, with a capital "*composé des attribus convenables à la Nation...*". As an example he mentioned Le Brun's use of the *Ordre François* in the *Galerie* at Versailles, and he mentions it briefly in his treatise under the heading "Basses Composées & chapiteaux symboliques."[30] In his *Traité d'Architecture* (1714) Sebastien Le Clerc (1637-1714) *chevalier romain, dessinateur & graveur ordinaire du cabinet du Roy* writes of the capital of the *Nouvel Ordre François*: "*Les Ornemens...sont trois lys à chaque Face, des Palmes, & le Symbole de la France qui est un Cocq, des Armes au dessous, & une Lyre à l'Ombre des Palmes...*".[31] Laugier dedicated Part Six of *Observations sur l'Architecture* (1765) to: "*...la possibilité d'un nouvel ordre d'Architecture.*"[32] Like d'Aviler, he did not mention de l'Orme, only the fact that under Louis XIV there was a noble ambition to invent a French Order. This task which centred around creating a new capital imbued with character, was given to Perrault and to the best sculptors of the time to resolve. The result was a Corinthian capital with some alterations.[33] Nonetheless,

Laugier offered his own solution to this problem as well, in a chapter entitled "Exécution d'un ordre François" which begins: "*Je vais d'abord donner l'idée d'une colonne, qui par sa base, son fût & son chapiteau, sera différente de toutes que l'on a imités d'après les monumens antiques.*"[34] Charles-Francois Roland Le Virloys's *Dictionnaire d'Architecture, Civile, Militaire et Navale* (1770-1) repeats d'Aviler and mentions the author's own use of the French Order at the Metz Theatre. J-F. Blondel did not introduce a French Order in his works, not even in his *Cours...* (1771-7), yet he mentions that Le Brun's French Order was based on the Composite Order.[35] Le Camus de Mezières (1780) considered that the idea of a French Order was long in the making although it was only a composite of known Orders with new ornaments to the capital of which he writes: "*L'idée est ingénieuse, mais l'ensemble n'est enfin qu'un chapiteau composite, rien de nouveau dans les proportions, conséquemment point de Sensations qui caractérisent un nouvel Ordre.*"[36] He also mentions Claude Perrault's contribution based on the Corinthian Order. The term *Ordre Frençois* did not appear in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique - Architecture* (1788-1825), by Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849), the archaeologist son of an ennobled family.

French architectural treatises abound in expressions such as "*la nation*", "*l'etat*", "*la France*", "*les françois*", and one is made aware from the writings that the French saw themselves as the direct heirs of Greece, Rome and Renaissance Italy in shaping and upholding true architecture. They wished to ensure excellence whilst maintaining architecture as a living art. Due to the eminence of France in the eighteenth century, however, the teaching and practice of French architecture transcended national boundaries. This is manifest, for example, in Le Blond's invitation to design for Peter the Great of Russia, and in Boffrand's invitation to Germany. A French national expression in architecture more relevant to this study, however, is conveyed in Savot's investigation of domestic architecture entitled *L'Architecture Françoise des Bastimens Particuliers* (1624).

An early seventeenth-century French interest in Classical architecture and particularly in the Orders can be gathered from Le Muet's translation of Vignola (1632) and from his translation of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* (1645). His own *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de Personnes* (1623;1647;1663) which dealt exclusively with French domestic architecture, he dedicated to the King, acknowledging his desire to be aligned with Classical writers, particularly Vitruvius: "*Au Roy;*

"*Sire,*

"*Encore que vous consacrant cet ouurage, i'imite Vitruue, qui dedia ses liures d'Architecture à l'Empreur Auguste; ie n'ay pas toutefois la presomption de croire pouuir approcher de l'excellence de ce grand et celebre auteur, comme votre Maiesté surmonte la gloire de ce fameux Monarque.*"[37]

The *Académie Royale d'Architecture* was established by Colbert on the 31st December 1671, but received its authorization only in 1717 from the *Parlement* in *Lettres Patentes*.[38] It facilitated the teaching of the Classical theory and practice of architecture which took some time to evolve. Boffrand (1745) considered the function of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* as: "*...dépositaire de ces principes, sur lesquels sont fondées la pureté & la noble simplicité de l'Architecture, doit être attentive à conserver, & à s'opposer aux folles nouveautés...*".[39]

François Blondel, first Director of the *Académie royale d'architecture* and its first Professor, stated the King's intentions for it: "*...afin de travailler au rétablissement de la belle architecture, et pour en faire des leçons publique...*

"*...que les règles les plus juste et les plus correctes de l'architecture fussent publiquement enseignées afin qu'il s'y pust former un séminaire, pour ainsi dire, de jeunes architectes. Et pour leur donner plus de courage et de passion pour cet art, Elle* [*S.M.*]*a ordonné qu'il soit de temps en temps proposés de prix pour ceux qui réussiront le mieux...elle envoyera ensuite à dépens à Rome.*"[40] Teaching ceased in 1694 and was resumed only in 1699, due to the war of the League of Augsbourg which drained France of its financial resources.[41]

From its inception the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* offered public instruction spanning both theory and practice.[42] Originally it took place on Tuesdays and Fridays between two and four in the afternoon. During the first hour F. Blondel dictated lessons whilst in the second he explained Euclidian geometry and other matters relevant to architects. On Thursdays at the same time private meetings were convened at which those chosen by the King debated the art and rules of architecture. The participants at the private meetings were to voice their opinions after study and observation of works from the past and on treatises relating to such works. Each meeting considered a specific set subject. The first subject for deliberation was *ce que c'est que le Bon goust.*[43] Some seventy years later the first of four chapters written by Boffrand

(1745) to explain the principles of architecture was called "Dissertation sur ce qu'on appelle Le Bon Goust en Architecture."

The first academicians chosen by the King were François Le Vau (?-1670), Liberal Bruand (1635-1697), Daniel Gittar (1625-1686), Antoine Le Pautre (1621-1691), Pierre Mignard (1640-1725) and François D'Orbay (1624-1697), with André Félibien (1619-1695), Sieur d'Avaux & de Javercy, as historiographer and secretary of the *Académie* under the direction of François Blondel. From signatures in the register of attendance at the private meetings of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* it is evident that Claude Perrault attended regularly although he had not been officially selected.[44]

When Hardouin-Mansart took over as *Surintendant des Bâtimens du Roy* (12.2.1699), he re-organized the *Académie.* There were now: 1. seven architects of the first class, a professor of architecture and a secretary; 2. seven architects of the second class who could join the deliberations like the former; and 3. Officers in charge of buildings (*Controlleurs, inspecteurs*) who had the right to assist in the deliberations.[45]

Public teaching of architecture, open to all, continued into the next century when lessons in mathematics, architecture, perspective, and experimental physics, took place at the Louvre under the instruction of Le Camus, Loriot, Le Clerc, the Abbé Nolet and others.[46] From 1743 public lessons in architecture were also offered at the *Ecole des Arts* in the rue de la Harpe under the direction of Jacques-François Blondel. The school was established in 1743 and J-F. Blondel's public lectures were approved by the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* in May of the same year. In 1748, however, he suspended the initial course when he realized that his lessons in theory were suited only for artists, whereas he wanted to reach a wider audience. In *Discours sur la Nécessité de l'Etude de l'Architecture* (1754) he writes that architecture is "*...une profession si utile à la société, et si necessaire à la vie civile...*" which led him to believe that one section of the audience at his public lectures would be amateurs of high birth. Their interest in the Elementary Course would arise so as to "*...multiplier les connoissances, d'éclairer le goût, de guider le jugement de ceux qui par leur naissance doivent un jour excercer les premiers emplois de l'Etat, soit à la Cour, soit dans les Provinces, et qui pour cette consideration ne doivent pas ignorer les principaux élémens d'un Art si fort en recommendation chez tous les*

Peuples policiés, et sur lesquels ils auront souvent des choix à faire, des décisions a donner et des examples à laisser à la postérité."[47] (a statement which encapsulates his views on architecture, on the society in which it was created and on those of its members who directed its outcome). This notion that both artists and patrons would wish to acquire a knowledge of architecture is seen in his interpretation of "Du goût de l'Art" in his *Cours...* (1771-1777), "*Le goût peut aussi se diviser en goût actif & en goût passif; l'un est le partage de l'artiste, l'autre celui de l'Amateur...l'amatuer n'a besoin que de savoir démêler la beauté de travail & de l'ordonnance; connoissances qui lui sufficent pour sentir le bon & le médiocre, et pour distinguer l'un & l'autre...*".[48] When his public course resumed in 1754, it combined theory and practice, now aimed to suit several different audiences: 1. those of high birth who for the accomplishment of their status were expected to possess a certain amount of knowledge in a variety of subjects; 2. those who wished to practice architecture; and 3. those who undertook the task of building. The lectures were designed so that their form of delivery would be suitable to each audience.[49]

Like much else during the period, the teaching of architecture became formal. It was perhaps this formality which made the subject interesting to a wider audience. It drew amateurs, as J-F. Blondel appreciated and whom he tried to cultivate. This fact was recorded in *Etat ou Tableau de la Ville de Paris* (1760) which set out to deal with the: "the necessary; the useful; the agreeable; and the administration of Paris". Architecture appeared in it as a subheading of "Education Agréable", which is explained as: "*Quoique dans l'usage du monde on ait attaché à la culture des talens agréables, un prix peut-être un peut trop haut, on ne les place ici que dans le dernier rang, parce que* philosophiquement *on ne sçaurait geres les envisager que comme le luxe de l'education: luxe néanmoins* politiquement *désirable, puisqu'il prouve la richesse et le goût d'une Nation*."[50] That is to say, if one valued one's standing in society it was well worth investing in the acquisition of such additional knowledge as enriched the perceived taste of individuals of status and through them of the State as a whole. Here one can note the importance of *éducation agréabe* to both patrons and architects, which is central in this thesis.

According to G-A. Prost, the curriculum at the *Ecole des Arts* covered music and dance in addition to subjects relevant to architecture. It seems that the purpose of extending the range of subjects taught at the *Ecole des Arts* was to introduce and to familiarize future architects with

accomplishments which they might require in order to fit in their prospective clients. J-F. Blondel advised his readers as early as 1737 that "*Je n'ai pas non plus négligé les occasions de n'entre tenir avec les Seigneurs des lieux que j'ai visités...*",[51] which would have required some familiarity with the manners of the aristocracy. The public lectures at the *Ecole des Arts* were given daily, apart from Mondays, at a cost of twelve *Livres* per lesson to amateurs driven by curiosity and good taste to follow the course. The cost of tuition to young artists was open to discussion[52] because some were offered scholarships. When lessons resumed in 1749 they covered both theory and design, and the school offered twelve free admissions to the public lectures. In 1750 Blondel's school was selected to teach architecture to students of the *Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées* the school of civil engineering; the Minister had obtained an annual grant from the King for the tuition of six of these students.[53]

The teaching of architecture

In France, prior to the formation of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*, the method of entering the profession and working as an architect was by way of apprenticeship. Formal, theoretical teaching of the rules of architecture, as well as the details, under the influence of the new institution in time led to a new approach to architectural teaching and subsequently to architecture itself. Both the teaching and the resulting architecture were to influence the design of *hôtels particuliers.*

The authors of the majority of French architectural treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whether they were architects who taught, and leaving transcripts of their teachings, or writers other than architects, tended to rely on their favourite earlier authorities. Each introduced examples from the past and enlarged on them greatly with their own examples.

F.Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture* (1675-1688), the transcripts of the first course at the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* from 1671 onwards (by inference approved by the King). It illustrates F. Blondel's teaching method. The majority of his treatise was dedicated to the five Orders of architecture (he did not include a French Order) after which he discussed niches, fireplaces, triumphal arches, bridges, aqueducts, drains, stairs, extending the height and width of buildings and proportions.

He starts with the principles behind the five Orders. The Tuscan column, commemorating the ancient Lydians who settled in Tuscany, was proportioned in the image of a Tuscan man: height six times the length of the foot. The Doric column, representing a young man, was proportioned with its height seven times its diameter. The Ionic column, the symbol of a woman's body with its height nearly eight times the length of the foot, was more delicately ornamented. The Corinthian column, which embodied the figure of a young girl, its height nine times its diameter, had more refined and delicate details than the Ionic Order. The Italic or Composite, its height ten times its width, had the most exquisite details.[54] In this way columns paralleled human figures, their lower diameters representing the length of the foot.

After investigating column proportions F. Blondel examines such other details of the Orders as entablatures (friezes, cornices and so on) and pedestals. He follows this with explanations of intercolumniation, arches, doors and windows, bridges, drainage, stairs and other details and technical problems of construction. With the column setting the height of a building, the height of the column itself and the other parameters of length and depth still needed to be settled.

The five different intercolumniations in Vitruvius which appear in F. Blondel's *Cours* (1675) were: *Pycnostyles*, in which the columns were set too close to one another; *Systiles*, which set them moderately close; *Eustyles*, correctly spaced columns; *Diastyles*, with moderately wide spacing; and *Areostyles*, with columns too widely spaced.[55] With five different column proportions and five different intercolumniations, the Orders permitted an endless variety of possible computations for the overall dimensions of buildings, as the definitions of intercolumniations were vague. After presenting Vitruvius's ideas F. Blondel discusses some proportions of columns and intercolumniation by modern architects/writers.

Other writers, however, interpreted the Vitruvian proportions of the Five Orders differently than did F. Blondel. D'Aviler's translation of Scamozzi put forward the latter's interpretation of the Orders with the following proportions: Tuscan 1: 7 1/2; Doric 1: 8 1/2; Ionic 1: 8 3/4; Corinthian 1: 9 3/4; Composite 1: 10.[56] In his own *Cours...* (1691) d'Aviler preferred Vignola's proportions of the Five Orders: Tuscan 1: 7; Doric 1:8; Ionic 1:9; Corinthian 1:10; Composite 1:10 (fig.3).[57] J-F. Blondel, and later Le Camus de Mezières, repeated D'aviler's proportions after Vignola.[58]

Teaching at the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* took both Ancient and Modern views into account for the rules of architecture — in particular for the Orders — and for practical, technical aspects of construction, as seen in F. Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture*. For the Ancient view, a new translation of Vitruvius's *Ten Books of Architecture* was commissioned by the King from Claude Perrault.[59] The 1684 edition (an improved and annotated edition of Perrault's 1673 translation) was considered as authoritative, and was in use at the *Académie*. It is therefore the version of Vitruvius which is used in this study.

In the preface to his *Cours d'architecture* F. Blondel proposes contrasting the work of Vitruvius with that of the most able of the Moderns: Vignola, Palladio and Scamozzi.[60] In principle, he kept to his scheme and approaches his teaching from an historical aspect, supported by examples from treatises and buildings, past and contemporary. Some differences occur between the Moderns he proposes mentioning and those he actually mentions, as for example in his treatment of stairs, where after considering Vitruvius he paraphrases Alberti, Palladio, Scamozzi and Savot. Only after discussing historical antecedents and the location of stairs, their size, shape, day-lighting, treads, gradients, oversailing and decoration, does he introduce his own reflections on the subject.

The objective, historical perspective pursued in F.Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture* was not followed quite as rigorously in later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French treatises. Their range of inquiry was greatly extended, especially to internal *distribution* of residences. In addition, the writers concentrated much more on promoting their own views than those of their antecedents.

Of the proportions advocated by the Moderns, d'Aviler (1691) preferred those of Vignola and Michelangelo, and made use of Scamozzi and actual buildings; he considered Palladio's book on architecture ill executed.[61] The writer who reissued the 1764 edition of *L'Architecture Moderne* (Tiercelet/Jombert) had before his eyes examples by French architects such as Blondel the elder, d'Aviler, Bullet, Belidor, Frezier, Briseux, Desgodets, Jousse, Blanchard and other writers who dealt with architecture.[62] In his earliest work *Traité d'Architecture dans le Goût Moderne* (1737-8), J-F. Blondel mentions only French Moderns of the immediately preceding generation: Le Mercier, Bosse, Mansard and de Cote — and his own contemporaries: Gabriel,

Dorbai, Lassurance, Boisfranc and others all of whose works could be seen actually standing, as well as on the page. In *Discours sur la nécessité de l'Etude de l'Architecture* (1754), a handbook for students that reflects his revised approach and method of teaching, his reading list had become far more academic, including both Ancient and Modern authorities: Perrault's translation of Vitruvius (1684), F. Blondel, de Chambray, Perrault, Alberti, Palladio, Vignola, de Lorme, Scamozzi, Fontana, Bibiane, Pozzo, Inigo Jones (of which he said, "*œuvre trop peu connu de nos Architectes.*"), Derand, and A. Le Pautre. Le Camus de Mezières (1780) mentions the names of Vitruvius and Claude Perrault only in passing. It should be taken into account that change in any field may be generated by human whim as well as by the eternal attempt of the avant-garde to effect change by pushing out the boundaries. Such a view was held by Quatremère de Quincy, by H.Woelfflin, and was expressed by J-B. de La Salle: "*..comme l'esprit de l'Homme est fort sujet au changement, & que ce qui lui plaisoit hier, ne lui plaiz aujourd'hui...*".[63]

According to the primary rules of Classical architecture, the correct proportions for volumes of buildings (especially Greek and Roman temples) were derived from the Orders. Whether three or five Orders were discussed, depended on the writer. Past theories and practices were delved into and classified as Ancient or Modern, thus setting an arena for disputes (this matter will not be pursued in this thesis). As more categories of buildings, including *hôtels particuliers*, were embellished with Classical details, columns and intercolumniation were combined in new ways.

Although the Orders are pivotal in Classical architecture, the varying interpretations of column proportions meant that the rules of architecture were less conclusive than they sounded at first. Yet there were some who, like Laugier, thought that "*Quoi qu'il en soit dans ma façon de procéder, la hauteur une fois détérminée, tout le reste se trouve décidé par un calcul qui n'a rien de libre. De cette premiere proportion dérivent toutes les autres sans incertitude*",[64] and so to consider problem-solving in architecture as reducible to pure mathematics.

The mathematical panacea

The humanist tradition encouraged the appearance of treatises on architecture by dilettantes, or at least by those who did not profess to be architects. These were in the main literary men,

moralistic theoreticians and clerics. The works of such men as Roland Fréart Sieur de Chambray, Savot, Perrault, and later Cordemoy and Laugier were published with royal approval, i.e. professional acceptance, in France. Their contribution did not depend on educational qualifications, but on possession of "*le bon goût*". L.B. Alberti, a diplomat who had written on painting before he took up architecture is a case in point. Another, is Henry Wotton, Knight (1568-1639) diplomat and poet, who travelled in Europe between 1617 and 1624 and published his comments in *The Elements of Architecture* (1624). He rated Alberti as: "...the Florentine, whom I repute the first learned Architect, beyond the Alpes; But hee studied more indeede to make himselfe an Author, then to illustrate his Master.", for Wotton, "Our principall Master is Vitruuius and so I shall often call him."[65] Wotton's contemporary significance is clear from the fact that Claude Perrault mentions Wotton's work, though none too favourably, in the preface to his translation of Vitruvius.

Roland Fréart Sieur de Chambray (1606-1676) was sent to Rome by Sublet des Noyers Baron de Dangu, Minister of Public Works under Richelieu, in order to collect drawings and casts.[66] His findings were published as *Parallele de l'Architecture Antique et de la Moderne, avec un Recueil des dix Principaux Autevrs qui ont écrit des cinq Ordres* (1650). As stated on the title-page, he compared profiles of columns from ancient buildings with those of more modern drawings of columns by Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, Vignola, D. Barbaro, Cataneo, L.B.Alberti, Viola, Bullant and de Lorme. Fréart's preference for the Ancient Greek is clear: "*Pour moy ie remarque dedans 3 Ordres Grecs une beauté si particulier et si excellente, que les 2 autres Latins ne me touchent point en comparaison...*".[67] And again: "*...les Ordres n'etans que les elements de l'Architecture, et les 3 premiers que nous avons eus des Grecs, comprenans toutes les especes de batimens, il est superflu d'en vouloir encore augmenter le nombre.*"[68] (Whether the elements of Greek architecture were very precisely distinguished from the Roman at this time is now considered questionable.) As well as drawing profiles of the capitals and bases of columns he wrote out the proportions of columns according to various authors.

Fréart's study is confined exclusively to the profiles of columns; his engravings were of capitals, entablatures and bases. He did not extend his undertaking to discussing intercolumniation, and thus spaces and volumes. As a result, having examined each part of the Ionic Order, he concluded that it was "*...necessaire maintenat pour en auoir vne idée parfaite, de les mettre*

ensemble, & d'en faire vn corps entier, où l'on puisse voir la symmetrie & le rapport qu'ils auront entre eux."[69] To this end he suggested that those: "*qui auront la curiosité de voir le plan de ce temple avec ses mesures...*" look up Palladio's fourth book, chapter thirteen. That is, he was clearly more interested in the decorative, sculptural elements of architecture and the mathematical relations of parts of columns, than in the creation of three dimensional space in architecture.

Louis de Cordemoy (1631-1713) ordinary Canon of St. Jean de Soissons and Prior of la Ferté Sous Jouars also dealt extensively with the Orders based on modules in *Nouveau Traité de Toute l'Architecture* (1714). The entry *Module* in his glossary reads: "*...une certaine grandeur qu'on établit avant toutes choses, pour servir de régle à l'Ordonnance de toutes les parties qui composent chaque Ordre d'Architecture, & pour leur donner à toutes le juste mesure qui leur convient...*".[70] Like Scamozzi's columns of the various Orders, Cordemoy's were not divisible into whole numbers. Also, he believed that the proportions of the Tuscan Order were similar to those of the Doric, whilst the proportions of the Corinthian were similar to those of the Composite (he made no mention of a French Order).

The later Abbé Laugier, perhaps better known today, lamented the lack of firmly established principles of architecture in his *Essai sur l'Architecture* (1753). An artist, he believed, was not merely a mechanic but needed to learn to think in order to evaluate his own work. Such evaluation could only be achieved with firm principles to guide his judgment and justify his choice. Laugier considered the state of architecture sorely lacking when compared with poetry, painting and music. These arts he regarded as having been so thoroughly investigated that little was left to be discovered; their mysteries had been unravelled. Architecture, on the other hand, was abandoned to the vagaries of artists. Its rules, based on chance inspection of ancient buildings, were used indiscriminately. For him, talent, a measure of genius with which artists were blessed, needed to be subjected to and transported by rules.[71] He hoped that a prominent architect would undertake the task of discovering firm and immutable rules to save architecture from the *bizzarrerie* of speculation. This line of thought arose from his conviction that every art and every science had a definite object. Whilst waiting for someone else to compile the principles of architecture, he expounded his own conclusions. For he thought that there was only one way to do a thing well: "*En toutes choses, il n'y a qu'une maniere de bien*

faire." He suggested "*1. Qu'il y avoit dans l'Architecture des beautés essentielles, indépendantes de l'habitudes des senses, ou de la convention des hommes. 2. Que la composition d'un morceau d'Architecture étoit comme tous les ouvrages d'esprit, susceptibles de fradeur & vivacité, de justesse & de désordre.*"[72] His next chapter consisted of abstract and esoteric principles followed by the different Orders of architecture. The rest of the book was dedicated to more mundane considerations, including the "*Consideration sur l'Art de batir.*"

When twelve years later Laugier came to write *Observations sur l'Architecture* (1765) he had given up on both artist and architect as suitable discoverers of the principles of architecture. Instead, he now believed that "*...la Théorie des Arts n'est point l'affaire des Artistes. Leur devoir se borne à en perfectionner les procédés. C'est aux Philosophes à porter le flambeau de la raison dans l'obscurité des principes & des régles. L'éxecution est le propre de l'Artiste, & c'est au Philosophe qu'appartient la législation. Il serait sans doute le plus avantageux que le même homme fût Philosophe & Artiste; mais a-t-on assez de génie ou assez de temps pour être tout??*"[73] This is followed by his offer of extending to architects a service never previously rendered, by lifting the veil off the science of proportions. Others had detailed the proportions used in architecture but they did not back them up with reasoning to satisfy a judicious mind.[74] The essence of proportions, according to him, consisted in *justesse du rapport* between numbers. As a consequence one should not mix incommensurate sizes in one and the same building.[75] Despite such declarations, Laugier himself acknowledged (in great despair) that many buildings, even the most famous, did not conform with his notions. Their compositions depended on endless incommensurables and even the best of contemporary designs showed total neglect of proportions, according to him.[76]

Laugier's approach was disapproved of as he himself noted in the 1755 edition of *Essai* "*Ce n'est que depuis peu que j'ai eu connoissance d'un Ouvrage intitulé* Examen d'un Essai sur l'Architecture, *où on entreprend de prouver que j'ai parlé d'un Art dont je n'avois aucune connoissance.*"[77] J-F. Blondel expresses his reaction to Laugier's *Essai* in *L'Homme du Monde éclairé par les Arts* (1774) where in the guise of the *comte de Saleran* he advises the *comtesse de Vaujeu* that "*La plupart de nos Architectes sont raisonneurs...et la plupart des propriétaires sont des ignorants présomptueus. Parce qu'ils ont lu L'Essai du Pere Logier, ils se croient tres-instruits; delà cette prodigalité de monstres, alliés souvent avec des reptiles.*"[78] And further, J-

F. Blondel summed up *Essai sur l'Architecture* (1753) with the note: "...*Ce qui est de lui dans ce petit ouvrage, n'a pas le même mérite,* (as that which he included in it, from the works of others)*et prouve assez qu'il faut être instruit à fond des preceptes de l'Art pour oser écrire sur cette matiere...il nous donna d'autres ouvrages, qui déjà sont dans l'oubli...*".[79] Earlier in his career (1754), J-F. Blondel had, nonetheless, recommended the *Essai...* to his students: "...*ouvrage plein d'idées neuves et écrit avec sagacité.*"[80]

Harmony and architecture

Sir Henry Wotton (1624) summerized the numerical, Pythagorean reduction of architecture thus: "...The schoole of *Pythagoras* (where it was a fundamentall *Maxime*, that the *Images* of all things are latent in *Numbers*) ....Reducing *Symmetrie* to *Symphonie*, and the *Harmonie* of *Sounde*, to a kinde of *Harmonie* in *Sight...*".[81] Besides the desire to extract pure mathematics from architectural compositions a further analogy (descended from Pythagoras) correlated music and architecture, and arose from the concepts of Harmony and measurements which were used in both fields. This latter analogy, which appears in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French treatises, stemmed from *Architecture harmonique; ou, Application de la doctrine des proportions de la Musique à l'Architecture* (1679) by the ecclesiastic René Ouvrard (1624-?) whose work was a source of inspiration and influence down to the twentieth century.[82]

The view of F. Blondel was similar to that reported by Wotton: "*...il est indisputable que les nombres qui font que les voix differentes frappent agreablement nos oreilles dans un Concert, sont les mêmes qui font que les objets remplissent nos yeux ou plustost notre ame, d'un plaisir merveilleux.*"[83] J-F. Blondel regarded the connection between architecture and music in a broader, more abstract sense, not the simply numerical one. In the introduction to *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6) he included a section on the "Rapport de l'Architecture avec la Musique" in which he sustained an air of hope that there might be a connection whilst being less definite about actual instances. For him: "*...la beauté de ces accords* [proportions, harmonic numbers] *ne soit réelle, convainquante, & fondée dans la nature...l'ordre, la forme, l'arrangement & les proportions, est également susceptible de beautés positives, réelles, & qu'on ne peut contester.*

"*De cette harmonie naît l'admiration...*"[84] though he continued that "*On ne peut disconvenir que les proportions sont les sources de la beauté de bâtir*" he added less assertively that "*s'il étoit*

possible de démontrer les principes de l'Architecture comme on démontre la science des Mathématiques, il seroit plus aisé de convaincre l'esprit humain de cette verité".[85] That is, he was drawn to a possible correlation between music and architecture but realized the impossibility of proof. Similar views were expressed in C-E. Briseux's *Traité du beau essentiel dans les Arts Apliqué particulierement à l'Architecture, et démontré physiquement et par l'Experience Avec un Traité des Proportions Harmoniques...* (1752).[86]

When, in *Le Génie de l'Architecture* (1780), Le Camus de Mezières set out to affirm an analogy between architectural proportions and human sensations he believed it to be traceable to a large number of philosophers. In any event, he wrote that were one to follow nature, one would not err, and in this vein: "*L'harmonie est le premier mobile des plus grands efforts; elle a sur nos sensations le droit le plus naturel; les Arts dont elle est la base portent dans notre ame une émotion plus ou moins délicieuse.*"[87] This he followed with the mention of a work on the harmony of colours by the Jesuit Père Castel and continued: "*L'Architecture est vraiment harmonique. L'ingénieux M. Ouvrard, Maître de Musique de la Sainte-Chapelle & l'un des plus habile Musiciens du siecle de Louis XIV, le prouve de la maniere la plus victorieuse dans son Traité*"[88] This, he wrote, was demonstrated in the dimensions of the Temple of Solomon as described in the scriptures and confirmed by Villalpanda's work. In his chapter "L'Art de plaire dans l'Architecture", de Mezières declared "*De justes raport dans toutes les parties forment l'harmonie, et de l'harmonie dépend l'unique et le vrai moyen de plaire dans l'Architecture.*"[89] As indicated by this statement and by the title of his work, his prime concern with Harmony was not mathematics, but human sensations; an aspect which is fundamental to my study.

Though the achievement of the ultimate logical reduction of visual problems to a modular system based on musical proportions appealed to French minds throughout time, there is no real reason why, or how, musical harmonics (rather than the abstract Harmony) need, or could, affect the visual and the three-dimensionally experiential art of architecture. This more poised view of the term Harmony in architecture, goes back as far as d'Aviler's dictionary: "*...usité par comparaison avec la musique, pour signifier l'union & le raport qu'ont entre'elles, les parties d'un Bâtiment.*" J-F. Blondel (1752-6) repeated this concept almost verbatim: " *On ce sert du terme d'harmonie en Architecture, par comparaison à la Musique, à fin d'exprimer le rapport et union que doivent avoir entr'elles toutes les parties d'un bâtiment.*"[90] and the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65)

considered that "*Harmonie en terme d'Architecture, signifie un rapport agréable qui se trouve entre les différantes parties d'un bâtiment.*"

Quatremère de Quincy detailed the confusion: "*...un passage de Vitruv dans lequel cet écrivain recommande à l'architecte d'avoir quelque teinture de la musique, a produit quelques théoriciens à croire que la musique avoit avec l'Architecture une communauté de système harmonique...c'est dit il* [Vitruvius], *pour qu'il sache arranger, dans un théâtre, les vases réperculeurs de la voix des acteurs...*
"*Ouvrard...publia vers 1675 un ouvrage...rempli de paralogismes & de contraditions dans les préceptes qu'il donne, plus cependent beaucoup à F. Blondel...*".[91] It sounds as if Quatremère de Quincy considered F. Blondel responsible for the influence of Ouvrard's work on later architects.

In his lectures (1809-1836), Sir John Soane also blatantly refuted any connection between music and architecture: "To these authorities may be added the opinion of Monsr. Ouvrard the ingenious author of a Treatise on the Application of Harmonic Proportions to Architecture, who declares that all Architectural effect depends entirely on Harmonic Proportions, and on the analogy of those Proportions with our senses...This, however, is not the case. These fanciful opinions, these wanderings of the imagination...may show great ingenuity, and originality of thinking, but are neither applicable nor useful."[92]

In any event Harmony, a wholesome unity which maintained a visual equilibrium, a measure of perfection, was greatly admired and cherished by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French architects. Its opposite, on the other hand, could give rise to shock, a totally unacceptable sensation. Thus Le Camus de Mezières: "*...rien n'est plus chocquant que les contrasts; ils sont aussi désagréable à la vue qu'un vice de proportion; c'est un défault d'harmonie.*"[93]

It seems, then, that the overall concept which conjoined music, colour and sensations with architecture did not depend on mathematical proportions or musical scales but on a concept of Harmony which was considered a measure of perfection integral to each. Throughout this thesis Harmony is treated purely as that unity and interaction of all parts of a building or of behaviour which created an appropriate equilibrium.

DISTRIBUTION IN FRENCH TREATISES ON ARCHITECTURE

Focusing closer on French treatises throughout the period, in which the field of internal *distribution* of houses was emphasized, one notices two things. Firstly, a gradual development and elaboration in texts, in practice and in invented examples appended to the texts, and secondly, a clear French national appropriation of this field of architecture as seen in *Traité de la Perspective Pratique* (1725), by Jean Courtonne (1670-1740), King's architect, professor at the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*: "*...par les heureuses découvertes qui se sont faites depuis un siecle, les François ont inventé un nouvel Art de la distribution, & qu'ils ayent en cela surpassé leurs Voisins, & ne leur ayent laissé que la gloire de nous imiter...*".[94] By the time J-F. Blondel was writing, he had subdivided civil architecture "*...en trois branches principales, la construction, la distribution & la décoration*";[95] in fact the subtitle of his *Cours d'Architecture* (1771-7) is *Traité de la Décoration, Distribution & Construction des Bâtiments*, that is, he considered *distribution* on a par with construction and *décoration*, the branch that dealt with the Orders.

Distribution became the new focus for French architects, progressively replacing exacting concern with the Orders in French treatises. An appreciation of this branch of architecture helps in the understanding of the way in which domestic spaces of the period were arranged, both in principle and in practice, and thus for some understanding of the way of life in *hôtels particuliers.* The principles set out in these treatises afford a glimpse behind the scenes, albeit of a specific and limited section of the population for whom money was no object, or so they thought. The financial standing of the owners would be taken into account in the design of the building, as advocated in Vitruvius's rules of architecture. When finance presented no constraint, design could be tailored to satisfy the owners' demands as to magnificence and convenience within the parameters of fashion, technical and practical development, and the rules of architecture.

Distribution, as presented in Le Muet's *Maniere de bien bastir* (1623; 1647 and later), *Architecture Moderne* (1728) and in Briseux's *l'Art de bâtir les Maisons de Campagne* (1743), related to three-dimensional *distribution* of volume as well as the two-dimensional *distribution* of elements of façades and the two-dimensional internal *distribution* of layout-plans (fig.2) (plans of intermediary floors did not appear in treatises). Félibien entered *Distribution* in his dictionary (1672) as "*...une division, & commode dispension des lieux qui composent un bastiment, &*

aussi une dépense raisonnable dans ce que l'on fait...". In d'Aviler's dictionary (1691), the term *Distribution* did not appear alone, only *Distribution de Plan* of which he said: "*la division des pieces qui comprosent le* plan *d'un bastiment, & qui sont situées &, proportionnées à leurs usages.*" that is, his conception of the term seems to imply two-dimensional plans rather than to the three-dimensional space of the entire building.

Boffrand (1745) described the extent of the influence of this branch of architecture: "*La distribution regle l'étendue d'une maison: elle doit être proportionnée au nombre des personnes qui doivent s'y rendre ou habiter. La grandeur des cours & des chambres doit être proportionnée à leur usage, & l'arrangement de toutes les parties doit avoir un enchaînement & une liaison convenable à l'habitiation, pourque toutes les parties soient relatives au tout...*"[96] According to J-F. Blondel *Distribution des batiments* was a "*...branche...ignorée de nos anciens architects, & que ceux du commencement de ce siecle ont sçu réduire en Art.*"[97] A confirmation of this change is to be found in Savot's *L'Architecture Françoise* (1624), in which he quite clearly sets out to explain the internal spaces of habitable buildings. He used neither the term *distribution* nor the concept. Instead he discussed individual spaces in their abstract, optimal location, largely based on the cardinal directions, under the heading "De la position des membres du bastiment".[98] Either because he was a medical man, or because of his interpretation of Vitruvius, he treated houses as bodies or organisms, albeit inanimate, made up of separate members. These he proceeded to detail or dismember (*see* Chapters III & IV). Illustrations, sadly lacking, might have helped to clarify the text. The concern with internal *distribution*, or planning of private houses, is best demonstrated in treatises like those by d'Aviler, Tiercelet, and later J-F. Blondel, and Briseux.

The internal complexity of spaces subject to *distribution*, which was to flourish in the late seventeenth century, but more particularly in the eighteenth, had not come into prominence when Le Muet was writing (*see* Chapters III & IV). His treatise thus began: "*En la construction de tout bastiment, on doit auoir esgarde à la durée, à l'aisance ou commodité, à la belle ordonnance, & à la santé des appartemens.*"[99] He further explains that *ordonnance* relies on symmetry,[100] but does not discuss *distribution* in this context. By the time of d'Aviler's *Cours d'Architecture* (1691, revised 1710 with a new chapter) the concept of *distribution* must have changed, since he proposed including "*...Plusieurs Nouveaux Dessins, Ornemens et*

Préceptes concernant la Distribution, la Décoration...".[101] With the assistance of plans, sections and so on, he proceeds with a detailed discussion of mansions, in which contemporary requirements are both explained and made visible.

In 1728 the anonymous *Architecture Moderne* (probably by Tiercelet), claimed nonetheless that "despite the appearance of several excellent treatises on architecture, in the previous sixty years the main object of those treating the subject was to account for the just proportions of the five Orders. It was surprising that in a period during which more building works were undertaken than ever before, bookstores had hardly anything to fill the gap of design based on *distribution.*"[102] In 1737-8 J-F. Blondel published *Traité d'Architecture dans le goût moderne* which concentrated on *distribution.*

In *l'Art de Batir des Maisons de Campagne* (1743), published five years after J-F. Blondel's *Traité d'Architecture*, fifteen years after *L'Architecture Moderne* and fifty years after d'Aviler's *Cours d'Architecture* Briseux again expresses amazement that, despite the importance of *distribution* in architecture, "in the large number of books which have appeared, this subject has been treated but lightly."[103]

Fremin (1702), who had an individual way of considering architecture, distinguished between three separate concepts in house design: *distribution,arrangement* and *ordonnance* and for him *distribution* was: "*le partage des parties du Bâtiment.*"[104] Laugier (1753) related *distribution* directly to convenience of living: "*Les bâtimens sont fait pour l'habitation, & ce n'est qu'autant qu'ils sont commodes qu'ils peuvent être habitables. Trois choses font la commodité d'un logement: la situation, la distribution & les dégagement.*"[105], and further that *la distribution intérieure touche encore de plus près la commodité de logement, que l'exterieure...*"[106] (His notion of *distribution* for the advancement of *commodité* will be considered in Chapters III & IV).

J-F Blondel introduced his *Cours* (1771-7) as being the first to include, in a complete architectural treatise, the two topics "*distribution, et...décoration interieure*" which had not been included in François Blondel's treatise but which had attracted great interest in France thereafter.[107] He could maintain this primacy because he considered d'Aviler's work "too incomplete"[108] Under the heading "De la Distribution des batiments en General" of his *Traité*

d'architecture (1737-8), the younger Blondel writes: "*...notre distribution est aujoud'hui supériore. Personne n'ignore que nous devons cette partie de l'Art à J. H-Mansard...c'est depuis cet homme de génie, que nos Architectes l'ont perfectionnée...la distribution...c'est peut-être la seule partie de l'Art sur la quelle nos Architectes ont le moins écrit. Jusqu'à présent Daviler, M. Boffrand Briseux & nous-même, dans notre Traité de de la décoration des Edifices, avons plutôt donné de la description des Bâtimens de notre invention, que des préceptes sur l'Art de distribuer nos Appartemens.*"[109] He considered, however, that the first four volumes of his *Architecture Françoise* (1752-56; it seems that only these four volumes were published) were the only work in which the subject of *distribution* was treated interestingly. And he went on to say "*...on doit distinguer deux sortes de distribution, l'une, qui à pour object la division des piéces qui composent l'interieur des Appartemens; l'autre, qui dans les dehors, contribue à determiner la répetition des avant-corps, des pavillons des arrieres-corps, & des corps intermédiatres qui procurent un certain mouvement à l'ordonnance des façades...*"[110] This last statement, which coherently elucidates a distinction between interior and exterior *distribution* of buildings, is worth remembering when the inner and outer aspects of man are considered in the next chapter (*see also* Chapters III & IV).

Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646-1708), Surintendant des Batimens du Roi, did not leave a written treatise to expound his theory and practice. J-F. Blondel's remark (on *distribution*) can therefore, only refer to actual buildings constructed by him, accessible to contemporaries and subsequent generations. In the eyes of J-F. Blondel, the turning point in the field of *distribution* was embodied in Hardouin-Mansart's design for Château de Clagny: "*Cette seconde branche d'architecture* [i.e. *la distribution*], *est devenue un art nouveau, et presqu'inconnu, dans les mains de nos Artistes...L'époque de ce changement est due à Hardouin Mansard, qui, le permier, dans le Château de Clagni, commança à combiner la relation que doit avoir la beauté des dehors avec la commodité des dedans.*"[111] Of this work by Hardouin-Mansart he writes: "*Un de ses principaux ouvrages, & un des meilleurs qu'il ait fait, est le Chateau de Clagny près Versailles, lequel a été démoli il y a une douzaine d'années...*"(fig. 4).[112]

The Château de Clagny, situated to the north-east of Versailles, was commissioned by Louis XIV as a residence for his favourite, Mme de Montespan, and her *bâtards légitimes* by the King. Jules Hardouin-Mansart, the nephew or according to St.-Simon, the illegitimate son of François

Mansart landed this, his first royal commission by virtue of the recommendation of Le Nôtre. The actual building works started in 1676 and terminated in 1679 and 1680. It was demolished in 1769 at the behest of Louis XV.[113]

Le Camus de Mezières approached *distribution* from his own vantage point, viewing the impact on the senses as a fundamental or major criterion. He stressed the significance of interior *distribution:* "*La distribution intérieure fera le principal objet de notre dissertation. Si tel édifice flatte par les dehors, tâchons que les dedans y puissent répondre: ce sont les parties que nous habitons, elles n'en sont que plus précieuses. Les extérieures ne sont pas moins intéressantes, ce seroit une faute essentielle que de donner trop de magnificence à l'extérieur, si les dedans n'y répondoient point...il occassionne à peu près la même sensation que si nous voyons sur quelqu'un un habit superbement galonné & le reste de l'habillement pauvre, rustique & grossier.*"[114] After some historical background Le Camus de Mezières takes his reader on a step by step tour of idealized premises, based mainly on homes of the nobility, in his day. In this abstract building, spaces were located optimally for their purposes, in a similar vein to Savot's idealised verbal dismemberment of buildings. Although his explanations are invaluable, without plans to supplement them much is left to the reader's imagination and perhaps confusion.

The epistolary treatise

The repeated desire to connect architecture with music and with other subjects, seems to make more sense if one considered the Arts and Sciences, in general, appropriate to their time. Such an affiliation was advocated by J-F. Blondel (1737-8): "*Je conviens qu'il est assez difficile de décorer présentement d'une maniere qui ne se ressente pas du goût du siecle, de même qu'il seroit mal-aisé de ne pas ecrire dans le goût de son tems et de sa Nation...*"[115] (a notion which much later would come under the definition *Zeitgeist*). With this concept in mind a marginal issue seems nonetheless worth noting. It concerns the literary form which some treatises on architecture took. Those written as teaching courses were, in general, systematically organized with headings and sub-headings following a logical sequence. There were, however, a few that in their form showed an affinity with the literary forms of their time, as remarked by J-F. Blondel. Literary forms, in general, are touched on in the next chapter.

One such example was by Michel de Fremin whose small volume *Mémoires critiques d'Architecture* (1702) is in epistolary form. Although memoirs and correspondence are not really compatible forms, both were fashionable at the time, whether intended for private reading or for publication. The letters in Fremin's work were addressed to no one specific or named, and most ended with "*je suis &c...*". His first letter feigned a true correspondence: "*Que d'esprit & que d'art dans la lettre que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'ecrire...*".[116] In subsequent letters he also made allusion to having a correspondent. Despite the effort of maintaining this pretence he found it necessary to give a reason for subjecting his information to this form of delivery: "*...pour en rendre la lecture plus aîsée: l'on y a fait souvent des repetitions, parce que l'on a compris que ce Livre devant être leu par des personnes d'un genie un peu court...ce style là afin que si d'abord ils n'avoient pas conçû une chose ils la comprissent par la repetition...*".[117] Whilst this did not say much for his opinion of his readers, it certainly freed him from the constraints of a strict, systematic method of organizing his material. The illusion of a correspondence, as in such conceits as "*Je suis bien-aise que vous ayez lû avec plaisir ce que je vous ay écrit sur la natûre du plâtre...*",[118] created a certain intimacy between writer and reader. The form is meant to engage the reader, in a sense to make him the fictional correspondent, so that he becomes an active or involved participant in the disclosures. After all, he sets out to have his house built and Fremin is only giving him some friendly personal advice. Consequently, the recipient of the advice and the relationship between writer and reader as well as the material discussed bear significance in this work.

Le Guide de ceux qui veulent bâtir, which Le Camus de Mezières published in 1781, resembles Fremin's work on two counts. First, they both set out to warn their readers of mishaps which they might encounter in the process of having a house constructed. Second, they both write in epistolary form. Le Camus de Mezières gives a different reason, from that of Fremin for opting for this mode of expression, and he spells out its underlying implications: "*Je me suis servis du style épistolaire pour tâcher d'affoiblir l'ennui que de longues discussions occasionnent ordinairement...Dans une Lettre on passe d'une question à une autre; c'est une conversation familiere, les idée se succedent, elles sont liées naturellement, & il semble dificile de les déranger...j'ai parlé, comme on peut faire, avec un ami que l'on considere, & auquel on est le plus dévoué: en cherchant à mériter son indulgence.*"[119]

His chapters, each entitled "Lettre..." and numbered are not addressed to anyone, but are frequently signed "*je suis...*" He involves his reader throughout, however, with some intimation of amicable ties with such expressions as "*Vous êtes vif & entreprenant, jeune & riche; le plaisir de bâtir vous convient mieux qu'à tout autre*"[120] or: "*Vous demandez que je sois votre guide, rien de mieux; comtez sur mon exactitude...*".[121]

J-F Blondel's *L'Homme du Monde éclairé par les Arts* (1774) is a more complex and intriguing epistolary work which sets out to cover fundamental issues in the field of architecture. This work went beyond the simple, one-directional correspondences of Fremin and Le Camus de Mezières. Blondel feigned a correspondence, cum novel, primarily between the *comte de Saleran* and the *comtesse de Vaujeu;* other correspondents were the *marquis de Luçai,* the *Prince de ***,* the *chevalier de Deville* and the *marquise de Galeas.* The *comte* on occasion referred to himself as an amateur: "*Je ne connois d'ailleurss que très imparfaitement cet Art* [architecture], *dont l'étude exige à ce que la vie entiere d'un homme né très-intelligent.*" To help the *comtesse* further he then suggested: "*Pour suppléer à ce que j'omet, avez recours au* "Recueil de l'Architecture Française"; *dont je vous ai parlé.* He also refers her to Biseux (1743) with the caution: "*dont les plans sont aussi ingénieux, que les façades exterieures sont imparfaites...*".[122] The *comte* has no hesitation in advertizing the ability of one J-F. Blondel on various occasions: "*Vous auriez plus d'avantage* [than in d'Aviler's dictionary] *à vous procurer un Cours d'architecture en neuf volumes in 8°...Il rassemble toutes les leçons données par M. Blondel, Architecte du Roi, & Professeur au Louvre, Leçons que j'ai suivies plus d'une fois avec fruit & avec très-grand plaisir...*",[123] or: "*Recueil en 8 volumes in folio...De ces 8 volumes, les 4 premiers sont...très-bien faites, par J. F. Blondel, Architecte du Roi, aujoud'hui Professeur Royal au Louvre, dont je vous ai parlé plus d'une fois, avec l'estime qui lui est due...*".[124]

J-F. Blondel gives his reasons for writing his work in this form: "*...Rendre sensible ce qui doit être estimé; réduire à sa réalité ce qui a pu usurper l'estime; exciter l'indolence des gens du monde, en leur offrant les avantages de l'instruction, sans exiger les peines de l'étude; fournir aux femmes le prétexte d'une application, en paroissant leur offrir un amusement; les mettre à portée de s'acquitter envers les Beaux-arts, en leur faire connoissance avec eux.*"[125] He seems to have had the distinct intention of interesting women in his field, even if his attitude sounds somewhat patronizing: "*...Les femmes doivent s'instruire: c'est un besoin qui ne peut jamais*

être satisfait sans qu'il n'en résulte un grand avantage pour elles...peuvent elles croire qu'il suffise d'être jolie, pour intéresser véritablement les hommes...".[126]

Though the main correspondence between the *comte* and the *comtesse* covered architectural teaching, the introduction of additional figures made it possible for the *comte* to engage in some personal intrigue, revealing his feelings for the *comtesse* to other correspondents. Hence the reader is not only privy to the formal relationship between the two when in direct association, but is also introduced to the inner feelings which the *comte* is willing to divulge to third parties. Blondel thus creates an emotional scenario as background to his educational course.

Aside from their pretext of not tiring the reader with too much knowledge, the writers knew that works written in the first person in emulation of novels were more digestible to members of society, who were not used to being addressed directly and even less used to being instructed.

IIIIIII

With a renewed interest in Classical architecture in France came a desire to create a French Order whose decorative use would glorify France. It was first proposed by de l'Orme (1568) who worked on the royal buildings for Henri II, and who believed that if other nations had Orders connected to their name, so could the French. De l'Orme was influenced by Serlio's earlier work at Fontainebleau, for François I, and by his published interpretation of Vitruvius. Other French interest in the Classical tradition of architecture is evident from Ian Martin's translation of Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture* in 1547, and his translation of Alberti's *Ten Books on Architecture* in 1553. In 1632 Le Muet translated Vignola's rules of the five Orders, and in 1645 the first book by Palladio on the Orders, supplemented with some additional doorways and window-openings. In 1685 d'Aviler's translation of Scamozzi's *Sixth Book on Architecture* (there were ten) which contained the five Orders was published and in 1691 he included Vignola's rules with his own *Cours d'architecture* supplemented by some details from Michelangelo's buildings. In his own *Cours d'architecture*, d'Aviler elaborated on the planning of the more prestigious French residences.

It was, however, Le Muet's own manual of design for private houses, *Maniere de bien bastir*

(1623) in which, as in Savot's text (1624), the stress was laid on the design of residences in which decorations of the Orders played little part. Le Muet and Savot seem to have sown seeds which were to flower only after the formation of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* and particularly in the following century. Le Muet's plans bore only a vague similarity to Serlio's plans of private houses. Le Muet's and Serlio's residences shared the use of courtyards, however, Serlio's plans display a symmetry which Le Muet's buildings did not follow. D'Aviler's *Cours d'architecture*, more comprehensive than Le Muet's or Savot's works, dealt with residential planning as well as with the Orders.

Whereas Italian treatises concentrated largely on the Orders, construction, materials, proportions of rooms and specific elements such as doors, windows, fireplaces and stairs, that is on *décoration* and *construction*, French treatises expanded greatly on internal house planning or *distribution*. And the shift of focus in the formal teaching of French Classical architecture is noticeable from the subtitles of the *Cours d'architecture* by F. Blondel and J-F. Blondel. The first (1685), is "*l'Origine & les principes d'architecture & les pratiques des* cinq Ordres *suivant...*" while some eighty later, the second (1771-7), is "*Traité de la décoration, distribution et construction des bâtiments*". In the latter, *distribution* — especially of habitable buildings, the branch of architecture which the French believed their own — was treated on a par with the Orders and with *construction*.

This renewed inquiry into Classical architecture whose rules provided measures to gauge the Harmony of this art (though they seem to have differed with different architects), also gave rise to a common interest for architects in their professional pursuit and for patrons in their general education or *education agréable.* This shared interest was significant for the result of *hôltels particuliers* of the nobility which ensued.

Chapter II

HOTEL PARTICULIER : OWNERS, USERS & THEIR INTERACTIONS.

INTRODUCTION

As noted in the Introduction, this thesis relies on the combined understanding best imparted by the dual meaning of the German term *Kinderstube*, which in the physical sense refers to actual space in the house — the day nursery — and in the figurative sense to training, upbringing, behaviour, manners. This chapter concerns itself with the latter. To this end, it consists of a brief history of the habits and rules of behaviour of the society which inhabited the Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The inhabitants (clients and their dependents) and other users of Parisian *hôtels particuliers* are included in this study to give a more coherent impression of the way in which such houses functioned. Since the lifestyle of those served by the original use of these buildings no longer prevails, some background clarification is necessary for *hôtels particuliers* themselves to be comprehensible and thus meaningful. For these complex houses and life in them (i.e. their use) to run smoothly, complete households were required. Considerable sections of *hôtels* were dedicated to operations which largely depended on the interaction between outsiders and owners, in official and social gatherings of various sorts.

The inhabitants of *hôtels particuliers* formed complete households which spanned a wide social spectrum, divisible into two broad categories: 1. the owner (a member of the nobility) whose Office, status or *dignité* required an elaborate house; and 2. his dependents of diverse background and status. These included immediate family (the continuity of his name or lineage), other members of the family such as unmarried, widowed and poorer relations (sisters, aunts and so on), as well as waged dependents: professional staff and domestic staff down to the common *domestiques*. Everyone in the household other than the master himself was the master's dependent (this patriarchal structure extended to all households, (noble or not). But all members played their role in the running of the Office and the home. The masters made the physical house and household feasible through their Offices, social status, wealth and public life. Dependent members of the household gave it the backing that made it function. The feudal concept of service, with its sense of mutual obligation between master and servant at all

levels of society, was still in force.

Whereas this chapter will touch on both these sections of French society (masters and their dependents) associated with *hôtels particuliers*, it will concentrate in particular on that section which caused them to be built, resided and worked in them, visited other *hôtels particuliers* and frequented them.

Formal, structured functioning within *hôtels particuliers* was only possible given an understanding and acceptance of certain rules of behaviour. As will be noted, the proceedings in such houses were largely formal (external) and even ceremonious. To govern them, parameters had to be set, or in the words of *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1771): "*etiquette...se dit généralement du cérémonial établi dans la société, qui regle les devoirs extérieurs à l'égard des personnes constituées en dignité...On suit la coutume dans les cérémonial, comme la façon de penser.*"[2] The meaning of *Etiquette* was stated in the Introduction.

Those who had dealings within *hôtels*, visitors as well as residents, needed to know their place metaphorically and physically. To this end they — masters, dependents and visitors — had to be familiar with the accepted modes of behaviour, applicable in different situations and dependent on status. (This included knowing which parts of *hôtels* they were allowed to enter, but that is considered in later chapters). The growing emphasis placed on the awareness of appropriate conduct (a large number of French publications on behaviour appeared at this time) was encouraged by the French who saw themselves, increasingly, as the leaders in manners or *etiquette* in Europe. François de Grenaille Sieur de Chatounières (1616-1680) writes in *L'Honneste Garçon* (1642): "*L'Italie a esté autrefois l'escole des François, mais à present la France est la Maistresse de l'Italie, et des nations de toute l'Europe.*"[3] With the diverse social and functional mix in such houses and households, a harmonious interaction was possible only when everyone kept within their socially accepted boundaries. The increasingly elaborate code that indicated where people of specific rank were and were not permitted to be, and where activities of specific types were and were not to take place, meant increased segregation between people, and between spaces within the confines of *hôtels* and of households.

The source material on which this chapter is based is by men and women of the period, some

published during the writers' lifetimes, others posthumously. It spans factual, objective material such as dictionaries and legal and historical records; personal, subjective material such as diaries, memoirs, letters and literary works; and some moral and practical educational works, ostensibly addressed to the young of the upper class, but read by others as well. Later chronicles and historical studies of the period and its Society were also consulted.

The factual documentation includes works by Charles Loyseau (1566-1627); Henri, *comte de Boulainvilliers* (1658-1722); Louis Rouvroy, *duc de Saint-Simon Vermandor* (1675-1755); F-A. Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois (1699-1784); and Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697-1781). Some of these were published posthumously. Royal declarations and customary laws of Paris, mainly from: *Le Droit Commun de la France et la Coutume de Paris* (1747) by François Bourjon (? -1751); *Recueil General des Anciennes Lois Françaises..* (1822-33) by Isambert, Decrusy, and Taillander ; also D. Diderot & J. le R. D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751-65); and various dictionaries.

The main educational sources used are French translations (1537 & 1877) of Erasmus; N. Faret (1600-1646); A. de Courtin (1622-1685); *chevalier de Méré* (1607-1685); J-B. de La Salle (1651-1719); *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684); *L'Art de Plaire dans la Conversation* (1688); *Regles de la Bienseance ou de la Civilité moderne* (1781); and several others.

The aim of this chapter is to give some idea of the background of those through whose appropriate behaviour, with the aid of accepted rules, *hôtels particuliers* became harmonious, continuing physical/cultural/social entities. It will, therefore, concentrate on those elements in society which made the entire enterprise of *hôtels particuliers* and their households possible, or necessary. It will omit any debate on class conflict or on the moral evaluation of the participants and their situation. It will deal with the general history and background of the owners as a group; their families and households (i.e. dependents); their education, and forms of interaction. It will deal with a form of social interaction which had its roots in an earlier period, and within other types of buildings, but which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the norm in households within the curtilage of the Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the nobility.

IIIIIII

THE FRENCH NOBILITY

Political distinctions of status

In his *Dictionnaire Historique des Mœurs Usages et Coutumes des François* (1767), François-Alexandre Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois (1699-1784), a French man of letters who had abandoned the order of Capucins without being discharged of his vows, distinguishes four ranks of nobility in France: first, *princes du sang* (royal princes); second, *haute noblesse* (upper nobility); third, *noblesse ordinaire* (ordinary nobility); fourth, *nouvellement annoblis* (the recently ennobled). Charles Loyseau (1566-1627), *Avocat en Parlement*, on whose collected writings (1610) Desbois relied for his information, views the situation somewhat differently: "*..nous avont trois degrez de noblesse; à sçavoir les simple Nobles que nous appellons* gentilshommes, *et* ecuyers, *ceux de la haute noblesse, que nous qualifions* seigneurs *et* chevaliers, *et ceux du suprême degré que nous nommons* princes."[4] Loyseau did not enter a separate classification for the *nouvellement annoblis* and, as will be seen presently, for him they simply constituted the latest recruits to the ranks of the French nobility.

Loyseau goes on to distinguish between two types of nobility in his own time: "noblesse de race & noblesse de naissance; *ceux dont les ancêtres ont toujours passé pour* noble, *& dont on ne peut découvrir l'origine, sont* noble de race; *ceux dont les ancêtres ont été* annoblis, *sont* nobles de naissance; *car l'acte* d'annoblissement *prouve qu'ils ont eté* roturiers (commoners)."[5] The *Encyclopédie* (1765) defines it more extensively: "Noblesse ancienne *ou* du sang, *qu'on appelle aussi* noblesse de race *ou* d'extraction, *est celle que la personne tient de ses ancetres, et non pas d'un office ou de lettres du prince; on ne regarde comme* ancienne noblesse *que celle dont les preuves remontent à plus de cent ans, & dont on ne voit pas l'origine...*".[6] Here the second type of nobility is considered: "Noblesse d'Office *ou* Charge*...celle qui vient de l'ecercice de quelque office ou charge honorable, & qui à le privilege d'annoblier.*"[7] It continues: "Noblesse de robe*...celle qui provient de l'exercise de quelque office de judicsature auquel le titre & les privileges de* noblesse *sont attachés.*

"*Quoique la profession des armes soit la voie la plus ancienne par laquelle on ait commencé à acquerir la* noblesse, *il ne faut pas croire qe la noblesse de robe soit inférieure à celle*

d'épée...".[8]

Perhaps Loyseau provides the most succinct and elegant distinction between the two types of French nobility: "*...nous avons l'ingenuité, qui est la noblesse provenant d'ancienne race, et celle qui provient des dignitez. La premiere est sans commencement, et l'autre a son commencement: l'Une est native; l'autre dative; et il y a apparence d'appeler celle-cy Noblesse, et celle là generosité, ou plûtôt gentillesse, ainsi que communément parmy nous on distingue les Nobles hommes d'avec les Gentils-hommes...*

"*A succession de temps, lors'qu'il fut mal aisé de discerner chacune notion, ceux qui étoient: ou issus des anciens Francs ou du moins qui avoient trouvé moyen de parvenir à leurs franchises...furent nommez* gentils-hommes...

"*La noblesse pourtant n'est pas un simple privilege particulier, et contraire au droit commun, mais elle naist d'un droit public et général et procede des moyens établis d'ancienneté...*

"*Voilà quand à la gentillesse, qui excede la memoire des hommes: et quand à la noblesse, dont on sçait la cause et le commencement, elle vient en France de l'annoblissement... Or il peut faire cét annoblissement en deux façons; à sçavoir ou par lettres expresses à cette fin, ou par la collation et investitude des Offices et seigneuries annoblissantes, desquelles consiste proprement la noblesse de dignité.*"[9]

In his view, *gentils-hommes*, the backbone of the French nobility, and therefore of French society, had existed from time immemorial, their titles were hereditary and derived through *gentillesse* or *generosité. Dignité*, on the other hand, was an honour given to an individual for a specific, major achievement, a personal merit which endowed public status. Such titles which were not transferable to heirs (at least not at the same rank), were seen as true nobility, distinguished by the immediacy of the titleholder to their origin.[10]

Lettres d'annoblissement (which proved the acquisition of status) from the king exacted two preconditions from the newly ennobled. The first was a payment to the monarch to indemnify him for the subsidies from which the recently ennobled and his descendants would be released in future, through the acquisition of their new status. The second precondition was a charitable donation to those people who, as a result of his ennoblement, would have to bear added levies of expenditure.[11] One of the prerogatives of the Nobility not enjoyed by commoners was

exemption from the personal poll tax [*Taille*].[12] It was up to the *chambre des comptes* to settle both these matters. In the earliest days of the monarchy, ennoblement was still based on military performance; later however, posts that led to possible ennoblement and to hereditary peerage were extended to include a range of State functions, or Royal Offices (*Charges de la Couronne*): King's Secretary, members of the *Parlement de Paris*, magistrates of the royal courts and the upper courts of Paris, treasurers of France, members of the judiciary, financiers and so on.[13] Belle-Isle Maréchal de France (1684-1761) voiced reservation about such privileges: "*J'ai toujours remarqué avec douleur que nous prodiguons trop les Lettres de Noblesse en France...*".[14]

Yet it was precisely the existence of titles of nobility bestowed on an individual for personal merit which gave rise to the separate (or the fourth) classification of the French nobility which Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois includes, and which Loyseau left out. The category of the *nouvellement annoblis* implied personal distinction rather than hereditary status. It encompassed those ennobled from the *bourgeoisie* or *roturiers* (commoners) as well as those raised from the lower *noblesse ordinaire*, to the upper *haute noblesse*, or *noblesse illustre.*

If Loyseau considered the newly ennobled simply as part of the nobility, he was quite clear about the unity of the nobility as a whole, as an *Ordre*, or Estate, separate from the third Estate: "*...en France nous faisons bien plus d'Estat de la Noblesse* [than in England], *laquelle nous ne mêlons aucunement avec le menu peuple, ...nous la tenons pour un Ordre entierement separé du peuple: même nous mettons les Princes parmi la noblesse, et n'y maintenant si petit Gentilhomme, qu'un Prince fasse difficulté de recevoir à sa compagnie à sa table...* "[15]

In France throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, changes were implemented somewhat erratically to manage the State and maintain a Nobility. The edict of January 1598 revoked all titles of nobility that had been accorded in the past two hundred years.[16] The increased numbers of Offices of the judiciary, had been a problem even earlier, however. François I (1515-1547) and Henri II (1547-1559) had created many noblemen. An edict of May 1560 then had set out to quash all newly created Offices once they had been vacated by their holders, through death, forfeiture, resignation or otherwise. The pronounced aim was to reduce the number of Office-holders and return to the earlier quota.[17]

Nonetheless, in December 1604 the system of *Paulette* was introduced, here described by the historian François Eudes de Mézeray: "*Ce fut de les assurerà la veuve & heritiers de ceux qui les possedoient, moyennant que les pouves payassent tous les ans le soixantiéme denier de la finance à laquelle ces offices auroient esté evaluez; faute dequoy ils retourneroient par leur mort au profit du Roy. On nomma ce droict, en termes de Finance, LE DROICT ANNVEL: Le vulgaire l'appella, LA PAVLETE, du nom* de Paulet, *qui en fut le Traittant...*".[18] Despite remonstrations by notables in 1618 against the sale of Offices, the practice persisted, and under Louis XIV the proliferation of Civil servants increased. In November, 1640 all *anoblissemens* created in the past thirty years were revoked.[19] A declaration of January 1629, known as the *Code Michaud*, forbade all *gentilhommes* and Officers of Justice and of Finance from engaging in any commerce.[20] A further *Ordonnance* of the same date forbade *Seigneurs* whose lands lay on the coasts from adopting the titles of admirals, or vice-admiral on their territories or from pursuing any trade from the sea, or from their lands.[21] An edict of March 1672 established the hereditary nature of the Offices of: *notaires, procureurs, sergens & archers,*[22] and in 1678 the price of Judiciary Offices was fixed.[23] An edict in 1704 created Offices of: *officiers municipaux; concierge-buvetier* (bar-keeper) in various Courts of law, as well as several new posts.[24]

The new posts granted privileges of ever smaller stature and significance. In 1705 a declaration was issued pertaining to the sale, by auction, of Offices that had been seized in order to recover the cost of increased wages.[25] A month later, a declaration revoked the privileges accorded since 1698, through the establishment of Offices of judicature, police and finance.[26] In June 1716, in the regency of Philippe d'Orleans (1715-1723), several Offices were suppressed: *maires, échevins, consuls, capitouls, avocats & procureurs du rois, archers hérauts*, and others. The election to these offices was granted, thenceforth, to cities, communities and parishes instead.[27] On the whole it thus seems that the importance and value of the status and distinction of nobility had reached a low ebb. Still, Office and Office-holders were imbued with the public dignity which their particular Office of State imparted.

According to the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65) the existence of a nobility was fundamental to the political function of the government and to the structure of a monarchy based on the maxim: "*point de noblesse, point de monarque*". The absence of a nobility, would produce a purely tyrannical State governed by a despot.[28] At this point in the argument the Turks were normally

brought in as example of unacceptable tyranny. In the original, military, French nobility one could progress, in stages from the lower *noblesse ordinaire* to the ultimate distinctions of the *haute noblesse*. Both of these categories of nobility were subdivided into further subcategories. Unless someone was directly ennobled by the king for a specific act, a long, ordered, and well-known procedure had to be gone through to progress up the ladder. It made for a structured process, arduous at times; during each stage the aspirant had opportunities to learn the skills and formalities expected as well as observing them in practice.

Both the *Encyclopédie* and Desbois relied for their interpretations of the subject of *Chevalerie*, on *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, considérée comme un établissement Politique et Militaire*, by Jean-Baptiste De la Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697-1781), member of an ancient noble family, member of the *Académie Françoise*, of the *Académie Royale des Inscription & Belle-lettres*, and of the *Académies Royales* of Nancy and of Crusca (his father had been *gentilhomme* to the *duc d'Orleans*).[29] The first part of his four part work was delivered as a lecture to the *Académie Royale des Belles-Lettres* in 1746 (published as the proceedings of the *Académie* entitled *L'Education qui préparoit les jeunes gens à la Chevalerie.* In it he discussed the necessary progression preliminary to membership in the Order of *Chevalerie: page*; *écuyer* and finally *chevalier*.

The fundamental distinction between *noblesse* and *dignité* of Office was carried, according to Loyseau, well beyond the titles themselves: "*..nôtre Noblesse vient, ou de race ou de Dignité celle de race consiste à être issu d'une race exempte de condition roturiere, et partant elle est interieure, principale, et directe...Au contraire la Noblesse provenant des Offices est accidentelle exterieure, accessoire et indirecte, n'étant pas attribué interieurement, et principalement à la personne à cause d'elle même, mais luy étant transferée exterieurement et accessoirement...*".[30] That is, he saw in hereditary nobility a quality internalized or ingrained in the person, whilst Offices were only external to the person. These internal and external (or inner and outer) facets of man and behaviour are discussed below in the section on **Education and Manners**, as well as in Chapters III & IV.

Henri *comte de Boulainvilliers* (1658-1722), researched and wrote on French historical, and political subjects. In *Essais sur la Noblesse de France*, written for his children's instruction

(published posthumously in 1732), he reflects on the question of Offices from their very beginnings. He ascribes the root of the ever growing and unending erosion of the status of nobility to clerks whose literacy and knowledge of *Belle-Lettres* led to their acquisition of Offices which greatly increased their status: "*...chacun, à l'aide des Sciences et de la politesse qu'elles communiquent, tâche à s'élever au-dessus de sa condition naturelle, à suplanter ses concurrans, à se former dans les affaires ou dans les Charges...*". He described the effects on the traditional *ancienne noblesse:* "*Mais si notre siècle voit souvent les effets de l'ambition des particuliers, il ne voit pas moins communément les chutes de ces fortunes, bâtis hors du fondement solide d'un véritable Noblesse. On ne peut considerer sans étonnement l'état present des familles de ceux qui de nos jours ont occupé le Ministere avec plus d'autorité et de richesse que n'en eu nos anciens Rois. ..Disons donc, que dans la confusion à laquelle nous exposont tant de changemens dans les mœurs, et dans l'esprits, dans la guerre et dans le Gouvernement, il n'est pas étonnant que l'on ait oubliée ce que c'est que l'ancien Noblesse...*".[31]

Boulainvilliers laid part of the blame for this decline on the *ancienne noblesse* itself. From around the fourteenth century onwards judiciary *chevaliers* (*chevaliers en Lois*) were created because of the laxity of true *chevaliers* in fulfilling their duties. This provided an opening for clerks of low birth to advance and establish themselves (later the suffix *en Lois* was dropped).[32] That is, acquired knowledge allowed upstarts to confront and replace the *ancienne noblesse* and to undermine its security, certainty, and the systematic advancement it had relied on. A different view of knowledge and science was held by René Descartes (1596-1650), himself of noble birth, who made these into acceptable pastimes for *gentilhommes;* this acceptance was achieved after much struggle, mainly after his death. The acknowledgement by the State of the importance of the sciences and letters was marked by the establishment of the *Académie royale des sciences* (1663) and the *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1663).

Approaches other than that of Boulainvilliers, however, are found in the writings of some members of the *ancienne noblesse* who wrote advice for their children, seeking to impress on them the necessity of not being complaisant about their status. One such was Anne-Therese de Marguenat de Courcelles, *marquise de Lambert* (1648-1733), roughly contemporary with Boulainvilliers. When the *marquise* was widowed at the age of thirty-eight she was left with a son

aged nine and a daughter aged seven, whom she brought up. She wrote two separate works For them: 1. *Avis d'une Mere à son Fils* and 2. *Avis d'une Mere à sa fille.* These and other writings were published in her lifetime, but much later. In *Avis d'une Mere à son Fils* she advised her son not to take his status for granted: "*La naissance fait moins d'honneur, qu'elle n'en ordonne; & vanter sa race, c'est louer le mérite d'autrui.*"[33] Also: "*...Croyez donc n'avoir jamais assez fait, dès que vous sentez que vous pouvez mieux faire.*",[34] and : "*Dans un Empire où la Raison seroit la maîtresse tout seroit égal, & l'on ne donneroit de distinction qu'à la Vertu.*"[35]

In her advice to her daughter, the *marquise de Lambert* noted the transience of honour: "*Pour fixer vos desirs, pensez que vous ne trouverez point hors de vous de bonheur solide ni durable. Les honneurs & les richesses ne se font point sentir long-tems; leur possession donne de nouveaux desirs; l'habitude aux plaisirs les fait disparaitre.*"[36]

The general belief that children needed to be brought up to recognize and uphold their status was advanced in the professionally written *Le Portrait d'un honneste Homme* (1692) by Abbé Goussault, *Licencié de la Sorbonne, conceiller au Parlement de Paris: "...il ne faut pas souffrir qu'ils* [*enfans*] *prennent des manieres de vivre indignes de leur nom, de leur famille & de leur naissance.*[37]

The French nobility, a greatly fragmented State institution of viscous composition and volatile, fluctuating character, changed through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to include ever greater numbers of outsiders. With new modes of affiliation to the nobility, and with growing numbers of newly introduced Offices of State administered by outsiders rather than by members of the *ancienne noblesse*, one was faced, according to Boulainvilliers, with quantity taking over from quality. A view similar to that of Boulainvilliers concerning the decline of the nobility due to deterioration of their legitimate standing under Louis XIV, appears in the anonymously published *Les soupirs de la France esclave qui aspire aprés la liberté* (1689-90).[38]

The nobility, according to Sir Francis Bacon, paraphrased in the *Encyclopédie*, could be viewed from two aspects: firstly as part of the State, and secondly as a condition of the individual.[39] In France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, though a condition was

bestowed on an individual, it transmitted itself beyond the person to involve his entire family, apart from the implication that it continued in perpetuity if the title was hereditary. This implication, however, was not always honoured (*see above*, p 50).

Throughout the period French society adhered on the whole to the traditional structure dominated by division into "Orders". Unlike modern socioeconomic classes, these divisions depended essentially on hereditary groupings. People were still classified according to their "*qualité*", "*dignité*" or status. The notion of "Orders" originated in religious orders, and since the French Orders of *Chevalerie* were closely connected to the Catholic Church,[40] its Orders were named after saints (*Saint Michel, Saint Esprit, and so on.*) And obligations of service, service to the king in particular, had not yet lost their lustre: "*...comme encore aujourdh'uy nous appellons particulierement les Officiers, les serviteurs domestiques des Princes, et appellons Offices leurs cuisines et autre lieux de service.*"[41] Honourable pursuit of service, according to Sainte-Palaye, formed part of the bonds between younger men and illustrious *chevaliers* whom they served within the *Corps de la Chevalerie:* "*c'étoit rendre service pour service* ", and: "*...les servir, étoit servir tout le corps de la Chevalerie.*"[42] The "service" implicit in the French nobility, was an undertaking which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries involved the whole family.[43]

In *Le Droit commun de la France et la Coutume de Paris réduit en principes* (1747), François Bourjon (?-1751) *Avocat au Parlement* from 1710, like others who wrote on legal matters, considered that possessions fell into two categories: "*Tous les biens de telle nature qu'ils soient, sont meubles ou immeubles, c'est la distinction adapté par la Coutume.*"[44] Unlike others, however, he spelt out the position of Offices: "*... les Offices qui forment un objet important dans la fortune de ceux qui les possedent, forment une troisiéme espéce de biens.*"[45] This applied both to titles that were land based, or determined by the possession of specific *fiefs*, and to titles that were purely honorary, dignitary, or "decorative".

It is unclear how many members of the French nobility there were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Desbois (1767) notes that there were some four thousand families of the *ancienne noblesse* and some ninety thousand *familles nobles* in France. He calculated that these represented some four hundred thousand people, of whom approximately one hundred thousand were available, at any time, to serve King and Country.[46] A. Devyver (1973) believes

that in the early eighteenth century the French nobility numbered two hundred thousand individuals, and M.S. Anderson (1976) writes of two hundred and fifty thousand late in the century. According to J.F. Bluche (1973), in June 1790, the presumed figure of seventeen thousand noble families out of the twenty-six million people then living in France was a gross overestimate; only one thousand five hundred such families had existed at the time.[47]

After the accession of Henri IV in 1589, the monarchy became more stable; the principal royal residence and the high court of justice were established in Paris, attracting greater numbers of members of the nobility, both old and new, to the Capital. Louis XIV's fears of insurrection and plotting by members of the *ancienne noblesse* because of the *Fronde* uprisings encouraged those who sought to retain his favours to reside in close proximity to the King at Versailles. (After the last revolt by the nobility (1648-53) the upper nobility had been deprived of political power under Cardinal Mazarin). In his *Mémoires*, Saint-Simon described the existence of the nobility at Versailles: "*La Cour fut un autre manége de la politique du despotisme. On vient de voir celle qui devisa, qui humilia, qui confondit les plus grands, celles qui éleva les ministres audessus de tous, en autorité et en puissance par-dessus les princes de sang, en grandeur même par-dessus les gens de la première qualité, après avoir totalement changé leur état...*". Of Louis XIV's aversion for Paris, Saint-Simon noted: "*Plusieurs choses contribuèrent à tirer pour toujours la cour hors de Paris, et à la tenir sans interruption à la campagne. Les troubles de la minorité...avoient imprimé au Roi de l'aversion, et la persuasion encore que son séjour y étoit dangereux, et que la résidence de la cour ailleurs rendoit à Paris les cabales moins aisées par la distance des lieux...L'embarras des maîtresses, et le danger de pousser de grands scandales au milieu d'une capitale si peuplée...n'eut pas peu de part à l'en éloigner...le goût de la promenade et de la chasse, bien plus commodes à la campagne quà Paris...*".[48] A standing army, and a royal provincial administration in the form of *intendants*, in time replaced the purely aristocratic governors. And yet, the commission of State Office introduced its holder into the highest ranks of the French social structure.

The numbers of all kinds of title holders increased in Paris for diverse reasons during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and with them the number of *Hôtels particuliers* built within the city.

Distinctions of the nobiiity

The power, distinction and continuity of the nobility as an institution lay in part in its segregation from the masses at large and in the segregation created by law between its ranks. Although some of these laws of segregation were enacted early in the history of France, those that had not been annulled were still in force in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Visible distinctions served to reinforce the impact of the segregation of the ranks. Sainte-Palaye (1781) describes the political and military institution of the ancient French *chevalerie* : "*...une sage politique vouloit multiplier les Chevaliers; il fallut donc attacher à cette profession des avantages exterieurs, en rehausser l'éclat par les prerogatives honorables, & donner à ceux qui l'exerçoient une prééminence marquée sur tous les Ecuyers, & sur-tout le reste de la Noblesse...*".[49] In battle dress, only *chevaliers* were allowed chain mail and coats of armour, while *ecuyers* had to make do with breast plates. In ceremonial dress, adornments served to make their wearers stand out in crowds and gatherings. Both *chevaliers* and *ecuyers* were allowed the use of ornamental metals, precious stones, fabrics, furs and colours.[50] The regulations are astonishing in their attention to detail.

Gold was reserved for the use of *chevaliers*, in spurs, stirrups, rifle sights, and horses' harnesses, they were also permitted to have gold worked into the cloth of which their garments were made. Silver was designated for the use of *ecuyers.*[51] The use of fur, was also restricted; only *chevaliers* were entitled to wear squirrel, ermine, and other precious furs, particularly as linings for cloaks. Less valuable furs were permitted to *ecuyers*, while the cheapest could be worn by commoners. At ceremonies and formal gatherings, dress was used as a visual means of distinguishing members of the *haute noblesse* from those of the *noblesse ordinaire.* When *chevaliers* appeared in damasks, according to Sainte-Palaye, *ecuyers* could only wear satin, and when the latter wore damask, the former wore velvets and so on.[52] *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises..* (1822-33) quotes the declaration of December 1485, which allowed *chevaliers* with an income of 2000 *livres*, to wear silk of any type, while *ecuyers* with a similar income could wear damask and patterned satin, but not velvet.[53]

Chevaliers and *ecuyers* were identified not only by their dress, but also by modes of address. In Acts and other written documentation, a *chevalier* was addressed as *Don Sire Messire* or

Monseigneur, and his womenfolk as *Dame* or *Madame.* An *ecuyer* was addressed as *Monsieur* or *Damoiseau*, and his womenfolk as *Demoiselle.*[54] Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois (1767) recalls some distinctions from earlier times: the son of an *homme annobli* was a *gentilhomme*, while his daughter was known as *demoiselle;* children of the *haute noblesse*, and of *familles nobles et illustrées* were known as *gens de la première qualité;* and offspring of those of the *ancienne race*, but with no distinction, were *gens de condition.*[55]

Apart from dress and modes of address, *ecuyers* (not withstanding their rank from birth) had to behave in a manner more subdued than that of their superiors. When in the company of *chevaliers*, they had to sit on lower seats, and further back, than their superiors; they did not dine at the same table as *chevaliers* even if, by birth, they were counts or dukes. An *écuyer* who struck a *chevalier* other than in self-defence could have his hand cut off.[56]

Distinction between the two ranks of honour was marked by their titles: "*écuyer*", the title, quality, or rank of *gentilshommes*, was added after names to indicate ordinary nobility. It set their owners apart from those who added the title "*chevalier*" after their names to denote high and ancient extraction, or that they had been honoured by the sovereign.[57] In his Dictionary (1621), Jean Nicot noted that the term *"escuyer"* was the first, and lowest degree of nobility which French notaries gave to any *gentilhomme* who had no further distinction. It was the right and prerogative of those who were allowed to bear arms. Antoine Furetière, abbé de Chalivoy (1620-1688), a member of the *Académie Françoise* who, due to disputes in France had his *Dictionnaire Universel* (1690) published in Holland, explained, however, that "*escuyer*" denoting those who had not yet attained the status of "*chevalier*" belonged to yesteryear.[58] The *Encyclopédie* (1755) and Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois (1767) restated that the title "*écuyer*" was in general a title of nobility bestowed exclusively on those entitled to bear arms, and have coats-of-arms. Both agree, also, that "*écuyer*" as a title marking nobility appeared for the first time officially in the Ordonnance of Blois (1579), which forbade anyone to add the title to their name unless they were *noble*, or an *ecuyer.*[59] An edict of 1600 again forbade the use of the title *ecuyer* by anyone not entitled to it,[60] and this prohibition was repeated in a declaration of January, 1624.[61] In Loyseau's words (1610 reedited in 1701): "*... en France le titre de* chevalier *est souvent un simple titre d'honneur, qui est attribué aux grands officiers, soit de courte, ou de longue robe, et aussi aux seigneurs des grandes et des mediocres seigneuries, qui tous se*

peuvent qualifier chevalier, *ainsi que les simples Gentils-hommes se qualifient* ecuyers...".[62] In August 1663, all *gentilshommes* were forbidden from assuming the status of *chevalier*, and in May 1701, a search was ordered to trace those usurping the titles of *chevalier* and *écuyer.* Despite all these regulations there was great abuse in the usurpation of both titles.[63]

Legislation restricting the ostentatious appearance of French citizens was issued periodically. A specific edict of the 12th of July,1549 (by Charles IX), however, entitled "*sur la réforme des habits* " (repeat of an edict of 1514), exempted princes and those residing with them from this general rule. It allowed them to wear clothes of all types of silk, in crimson. Crimson was reserved for the use of *gentilshommes* in their pourpoint and breeches, and for *dames* and *damoiselles* in their tunics and on sleeves. The crimson garments that high court magistrates and doctors wore In the eighteenth century was the vestige of this right. Wet nurses in the Queen's, and in the King's sister's houses, were allowed to wear velvet dresses, but in colours other than crimson. Women in the service of *princesses*, and *dames* could wear only black, or tan-coloured velvet but they were allowed silk clothes in all unrestricted colours. This edict also extended the exclusive use of silk clothes over silk, to *gentilshommes* and *gens de guerre*, and of velvet bonnets, velvet shoes and silk clothes to those who were regularly in the presence of the king.[64] The edict was reissued on numerous occasions till 1623. Later edicts went into even greater detail on the types of ribbons, lace, braid, edgings and so on. (marks of luxury and embellishments) reserved for the use of those who were meant to be noticed. In earlier edicts gold and silver were always the subject of distinct restrictions while precious stones were only mentioned in general terms, but an edict of 1720 forbade the use of pearls, diamonds, and precious stones.[65] It was restated in the *Arrêt du Conseil* of 1720: "*Nouvelle défense de porter de diamans, perles &c...& révoque toutes permissions qui pourroient avoir été accordées de les porter.*"[66] Financiers, who were first ennobled under Louis XIV, were forbidden, together with their wives and children, from using the luxury items including silk and fur by an edict of 1532. The number of horses they could have was also restricted, as was the dowry they could give to their daughters (no greater than ten percent of their possessions).[67]

The edicts mentioned above set members of the nobility apart visually, but they also aimed to curtail the so-called ostentatious appearance of *bourgeois* and other commoners (Le Roy Ladurie subdivided *roture* into four vertically arranged ranks[68]). This embraced the fabrics of

which clothes were made as well as their colour. A lengthy *ordonnance* on luxury appeared as early as 1294. Besides regulating the number of *robes* they could own, it established that the *bourgeois* were not to wear green, grey, ermine, precious stones, gold, or silver.[69] Later edicts throughout the seventeenth century complained of, and legislated against, the use of gold and silver by commoners, together with pearls, diamonds, precious stones, and perfumes. Not only were the users to be fined, and the forbidden items confiscated, but merchants and tailors would also be fined for making and selling such items to the wrong people.[70] To maintain the exclusive appearance of the royal household *ordonnances* were issued from 1703 onwards forbidding anyone else from using the design of the King's livery, or its blue colour. The onus of these prohibitions lay on servants wearing such livery , tailors who had made it and masters who designed it for their household staff.[71] The *Maréchal duc de Belle-Isle* referred to such visible marks of association with the king with reservations: "*..S'il m'est permis de parler de moi, je dirai que je n'ai jamais voulû porter* la casque bleuë, *espece de soubreveste galonnu bordée, que le feu Roi permettoit de porter à ceux qui étoient de ses parties.*"[72]

French Kings had tried for generations, to no avail, to prevent the *bourgeoisie* from affecting an air of grandeur through ownership of vehicles, rich clothing, jewellery and so on, and by so doing, creating base copies of items used at Court, in the Church, and by the nobility. Henri IV, who realized that these edicts by his predecessors had been ineffective, issued his own edict of 1604, prohibiting all his unprivileged subjects from wearing gold or silver on or woven into their garments, to which he added: "*excepté pourtant aux filles de joie et aux filous* ". This last addition, according to Desbois, made its mark, for it stopped those not entitled to do so from adorning themselves.[73] Records of subsequent edicts on the same issue may signify that Desbois was over-optimistic regarding the persuasive effect of Henri IV's form of expression.

To further obviate any sign of ostentation and fine ceremony amongst those without privileges, a law enacted in 1629 restricted the choice of crockery which they were allowed to own, and the food which they could serve: "*Il est défendu à toutes personnes d'avoir plus de trois services à leur table & d'un simple rang de plats, sans qu'ils puissent être mis l'un sur l'autre: & ne pourra avoir plus de six pièces auplat, soit de bouilly ou rôty...même dans les repas de noces, & chaque service d'entrée, bienvenues, receptions & maîtrises, sont prohibés.*"[74]

The operation of the formal society of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France was

assisted by a governing nobility whose members were afforded, by law, the right to visibly draw attention to themselves and so be clearly distinguishable. These distinctions segregated between different ranks of the nobility, but in particular set them quite apart from commoners. The visual identification of members of the nobility through colour, fine fabrics, braid, jewellery, sign-posted them with great precision. It also signified to others within that society the correct form by which to address them, and the respect due to them under the rules of behaviour.

THE NOBLE HOUSEHOLD

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French noble households were the vestiges of the feudal houses. These households comprised the nobleman, his immediate family as well as unmarried relatives — old and young — warriors, pages, and others who made up and assisted in the functioning of the household. *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1771) defines such households: "*Chez les personnes de qualité on prend sous le nom de* Famille *tous les domestique, tous les Officiers, grands & petits.*", and "*Maison , famille, synonymes. Famille, dit M. l'Abbé Girard, est plus Bourgeois: Maison est plus de qualité.*"[75] The *Encyclopédie* (1751-65) considers under "*Domestique* ": "*...toutes les personnes qui sont subordonnées à quelqu'un, qui composent la maison, & qui vivent ou sont censées vivre avec lui, comme secrétaire, chapelains, etc.*" At times this included his immediate family too. *Famille* as a term in jurisprudence "*...pris dans un sens étendu, signifie tous ceux qui demeurent chez quelqu'un & en même maison...*".[76] L-B. Alberti, in *I Libri della Famiglia* (*see below*, p 60-1; 65; 75) describes the composition of the family: "Children, wife, and other members of the household, both relatives and servants."[77] The inseparability of or the indistinguishability between the concept of "house" (i.e. extended family) and "household" rooted in the traditional West European structure of society,[78] is noted in the *Encyclopédie:* "*Maison se dit des personnes & des domestiques qui composent la maison d'un prince ou d'un particulier.*"[79]

In this type of household, the nobleman was master of all who resided under his roof and who were accountable to him. He, on the other hand, was accountable to outside authority for every one of them in case of default. Philippe, *dit* Pierre Fortin Sieur de La Hoguette (1585- ?) a man-at-arms advised his children in *Testament ou Conseils Fideles d'un Pere a ses Enfans* (1648): "*...par nos conventions comme il demeure mon obligé, je suis le sien; s'il est mon domestique, il entre en la communauté de ma maison et de mon foyer, avec moi; et quoi qu'il soit de la derniere*

table, il est mon comerçal, et je lui dois même ma protection contre autrui...je trouve que l'assemblage du serviteur avec le maître, n'est autre chose qu'une société qui se fait entre le pauvre et le riche pour leur utilité commune, en laquelle il n'y a aucune difference que de nom."[80] In this way, those living under a nobleman's roof were included in his household and owed him service and total loyalty in return for which he reciprocated with total protection. It was a finely balanced system of obedience and obligation, rooted in loyalty. De La Hoguette suggested that this arrangement between master and servant worked best when "*Pour le repos commun du maître et du serviteur, il est souvent necessaire que le permier soit aveugle, et que l'autre soit sourd.*"[81] The responsibility of a house-owner for the misdemeanours of his *domestiques* was restricted by the time the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65) was written: "*Les maîtres sont responsables civilement des délits de leurs domestiques, c'est à dire des dommages et intérêts qui en peuvent résulter; ce qui ne s'entend néanmoins que des délits commis dans les lieux et fonctions où leurs maîtres les ont employés.*"[82] Also, by the end of the period the meaning of "*famille* " had changed, according to *Répertoire universel et Raisonné de Jurisprudence..* (1784-5), edited by Joseph-Nicolas Guyot (1728-1816) *écuyer* and *ancien magistrat:* "*..l'assemblage de plusieurs personnes unies par les liens du sang.*"[83] That is, the old idea of all members of the household forming the family, as described by both de La Hoguette and Alberti, seems to have been on the wane by the late eighteenth century.

In *De la République* (1576), the celebrated magistrate and political writer, Jean Bodin (1530-96), identified the family, as the basic social grouping: " *source & origine de toute République & membre principal d'icelle*"[84] (*see also*, p 65). This elementary political social group was, in noble circles of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, of much greater significance than were the individuals who formed it. Also, as Loyseau made clear, the consequences of heredity in the French noble family unit were such that in case of disgrace "*...d'ailleurs nous observons, que l'infamie encouruë par un Gentilshomme, ne prive pas sa posterité de l'Ordre de Noblesse, parce qu'il reside en la race et la famille, et non simplement en la personne du pere.*"[85] An example of the smoothing over of past misdemeanours in such families is the notorious case of Nicolas Fouquet, convicted of embezzlement, whose grandsons nonetheless held the titles of *comte de Belle-Isle* and *chevalier de Belle-Isle* (*see* Chapter V)

Because of the strategic importance of the fiefs held by French noble families the law of

primogeniture had been brought into force to ensure their continued integrity. The *avocat* A-M-J-J. Dupin (1783-1865), whose argument in *Du Droit d'Aînesse* (1826) was based on Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois* (1748), advanced the idea that once the large French fiefs (lands not subject to subdivision) had become heritable entities, their accession by the firstborn male (*droit d'aînesse*) was established.[86] The abolition of this law, with the Revolution, on the 15th of march, 1790 was reported by Dupin: "*tous priviléges, toutes féodalité et nobilité des biens etant détruits, les droits d'aînesse de masculinité à l'égard des fiefs, domaines et alleux nobles, et les partages inégaux à raison de la qualité des personnes, étaient abolis.*"[87]

Under the *Coutume de Paris* property other than land was divided equally among the heirs according to Bourjon (1747): "*Cessantes les dispositions de l'homme (le fief et terres nobles exceptés...) tous les biens doivent se partager également entre ceux du premier degré, et par rapport à ceux du deuxieme...*".[88]

The inequality generated by the *droit d'aînesse* guided the political structure of the French nobility and noble households. It was also part of the reason why women were prevented from ascending to the French throne. This ruling was extrapolated from the reading of the written version of the salic law (in particular Article 62, Section 6 as published by Charlemagne),[89] and was based on the strategic importance of the fiefs, and on the importance of land to the State.

When, in the late fifth and early sixth centuries the Frankish warriors conquered the lands of Gaul, according to Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois (1767), the lands appropriated by the Franks were apportioned in three categories: *Terres Saliques; Bénéfices militaires; Domaine du Roi. Terres Saliques*, he continued, were shared out, a share being given in perpetuity to every Frank. These lands, also called *fiefs nobles*, were (still according to Chenaye-Desbois) given by the early kings of France to the Saliens or *grands seigneurs de leur sale ou cour*, under the sole condition that their owners could be called upon to provide men for military service at the request of the sovereign. The *Encyclopédie* states that the Franks distinguished salic lands from all others in that salic lands could only be held by French men-at-arms.[90]

Article 62 of the salic laws, entitled "*Des Héritages*" (or "*De Alode*" in the vernacular) treats

those who had the right of inheritance. (Desbois interpreted *alode* as *aleu*, or *alleud*, from the German *alles* + *Leuthe*, i.e. all men and women.[91]) The sixth and final section of Article 62 reads: "*A l'égard de la terre Salique, aucune portion de l'héritage ne reviendra à la femme; mais l'héritage tout entier appartiendra aux mâles.*"[92] *Terres Allodiales* then, could be inherited by both men and women; *Terres Saliques*, on the other hand, could only be owned by men (i.e. men-at-arms). This law was interpreted to mean that since women were unable to hold arms and participate in wars to protect the Nation and the Sovereign, therefore, they were ineligible to possess salic lands. From this a further conclusion was drawn in the fourteen century: as women were unable to protect the kingdom, they were also ineligible to rule.[93]

Objection to this state of affairs was voiced by a female participant Cleonice in the anonymous *L'Art de plaire dans la conversation*, which received its original *Privilége* for publication in 1676: "*Je remarqué aussi que cette Loi* [*Salique*] *a trois parties...la troisiéme, dont j'ai grand dépit, prive les personnes de nôtre Sexe de la succession de la Couronne...*".[94] Though anonymously published, this work in form of conversations was in fact a manual of behaviour attributed to the male writer Pierre d' Ortigue Sieur de Vaumorière (1610-1693). It thus seems that objections were raised by both women and men aware of the segregation and inequality created by Article 62 of the salic law. The Franciscan friar Jacques Du Bosc (?-1664) *conseiller & Predicateur ordinaire du Roy*, had voiced his praise of women even earlier. In *La femme Heroique* (1645) dedicated to the Queen of Great Britain, he stated: *De la Vertv Heroique de son excellence, & de ses proprietez que les femmes en sont aussi capable que les hommes.*[95]

According to *Des États Généraux et autres Assemblés Nationales* (1788) the origin of the word "*salique* " was "*salica* " synonymous with "*maison*" derived from this, the meaning of "*terre salique*" was taken to be the land surrounding the house,[96] although other etymologies have been suggested.

In order to marry, heirs and heirs apparent to fiefs were obliged (under the framework of obligation, obedience and loyalty) to obtain the consent of their parents and of their overlords. This included those who held lands directly from the king as well as from other, lesser, overlords. The legal aspect of *droit d'aînesse* was described by Bourjon (1747): "*Distinction premiére du motif du droit d'aînesse, est que ce droit est de droit public.*"[97] Therefore, those who held land

directly from the King, required the King's permission for their own, as well as for their children's marriage.[98] Majority, or the right of free men and women to exercise their liberty, was set in French law as twenty-five years of age.[99] Nonetheless, in order to avoid lawful disinheritance, a man required parental consent to marry until he reached thirty years of age, although a woman was free to marry without consent when she reached her majority at the age of twenty-five.[100] The one significant decision which a person could legally act upon before the age of majority, was to enter the Church, or in the words of Bourjon: "*Quoique jusqu'à la majorité, l'homme et ses biens soient mis sous la puissance d'un autre, il peut neamoins à seize ans se consacrer à Dieu, par les veux monastiques...*".[101]

As land ownership was seen from the perspective of the value of the land as a national asset (especially land of strategic significance), so too, in law, members of a family were considered in their significance to the Nation as a whole. When considering "*Des peres de familles* " and the parental authority invested in them, Bourjon (1747) stated: "*La raison de cette faveur* [paternal authority]*, est que les mœurs encore plus que les loix, contribuent à faire de bon Citoyens; on doit donc regarder cette puissance très favorablement.*
"*Les limites de cette puissance, sont fondées sur ce que les enfans appartiennent encore plus à l'Etat qu'à leurs peres.*"[102] Thus the household and the State were intrinsically linked. On the one hand the father had authority over those who resided under his roof, but on the other, he was beholden to the State to deliver good citizens.

The government of the household, under the absolute authority of its head, as described by Bodin: "*...Le prince commande aux subjets, le magistrat aux citoyens, le maistre aux disciples le capitaine aux soldats...mais de tous ceux-là, il n'y en a pas un à qui nature donne aucun pouvoir de commender, horsmis au père qui est la vraye image du grand Dieu souverain père universel de toutes choses*",[103] was subject to law. In the prologue to his *I Libri della Famiglia* Alberti had also reflected on the similarities between families and nations: "...when one realizes that laziness, inertia, lust, deceit, cupidity, inquiry, the raw appetites and unrestrained passions of men are what infects, subverts, and undermines every solid and well founded human endeavour, one must also, I think, see that these truths apply as much to families as they do to kingdoms."[104]
Unlike Bodin, Bourjon (1747) considered that paternal authority had limited scope: "*La*

puissance paternelle ne sétend que sur la correction des mœurs des enfans, sur leur éducation: la majorité fait cesser les effets sans affeblir leur respect...".[105] He saw the need for such guidance due to human frailty: "*L'homme dans sa jeunesse étant par son inexpérience hors d'état de se gouverner lui-même, est mis sous la puissance d'un autre, qui régit sa personne et ses biens jusqu'au tems marqué par la Loi...*",[106] and, "*Leur* [*peres*] *pouvoir est un pouvoir de direction, tempéré par la piété paternelle.*"[107] An *ordonnance* of 1560, re-enacted in 1598 by Henri IV, ordered parents to send their children to school.[108] Here again, the reciprocal obligations of the parties were in force: whereas the father had authority over a child, he was obliged, at the same time, to guide and provide an education for the child whilst the child owed obedience and reverence. The provision of free education in France appeared in an *ordonnance* of 1560: "*Dans chaque église cathédrale ou collégiale, une prébende sera destinée à un précepteur, qui, moyenant ce sera tenu d'instruire les jeunes enfans de la ville gratuitement et sans salaire.*"[109] Teaching at the *petites-écoles* of Port-Royal, for example, included reading, writing, arithmetic, church service, grammar elementary Latin, Catechism and Christian doctrine.[110]

Besides providing an education a father was also obliged to maintain his child: "*Le pere de famille est obligé de nourrir et entretenir ses enfans, jusqu'à ce qu'ils ayent atteints l'âge suffisant pour pouvoir subsister par leur travail; tel est son premier engagement.*"[111] A special provision was made, however, for members of the nobility and some *bourgeois* : "*Quoique les peres et meres ne soient pas obligés de nourrir leurs enfans, lorsqu'ils sont en âge de pouvoir subsister par leurs travail, cela ne doit pas s'entendre des filles de Gentilshommes et des notables bourgeois. Elles doivent toûjours être nourries et entretenues par leur pere jusqu'au tems de leur établissement.*"[112]

Women's personal liberty was restricted by the age of majority, their parents, and their husbands, as seen in Bourjon, under the heading: "*Des Femmes en Puissance de Maris*": "*La fille majeure est comme le mâle maîtresse de tous ses droit; c'est l'effet de la majorité abstractions faite du sexe. Mais le marriage la mettant sous la puissance d'un mari, emporte contre elle une éspece d'interdiction légale. Cette interdiction la rend incapable de tout engagement sans l'autorisation de son mari...*".[113] This restriction included, also, a wife's residence: "*la femme n'a pas d'autre domicile que celui de son mari; sa puissance, sous laquelle*

elle vit ne lui laisse pas d'autre.

"*...c'est toujours celui de son mari qu'il faut considerer, cependant ce domicile de droit cesse, si elle est séparée de corps & d'habitation; telle separation la rend à elle-même...*".[114] De Grenaille described the dependency of wives in *L'honneste Mariage* (1640): "*Le Chistianisme ayant reglé les mœurs du monde a mieux expliqué cette belle loy, disant que l'homme est chef de la femme, & qu'elle doit suiure ses mouuemens, comme dans le corps, la teste a intendance sur tous les membres...*".[115] But the personal freedom that a woman had gained at majority, and lost at marriage, was regained with widowhood: "*...mais par le veuvage, la femme recouvre sa liberté.*"[116] In 1579 a new edict further subjected a wife to dependence on the status of her husband. A widow who remarried below her status, lost the advantages which she had attained from her first marriage.[117]

Women's possessions, in general, were restricted to: "*des meubles* ". In case, however, a woman inherited and owned "*des immeubles* ", then, according to the *Encyclopédie:* "*La femme noble, dès qu'elle avoit un hoir* [heir] *mâle, cessoit d'être propriétaire de sa terre, elle n'en jouissoit plus que comme usufruitiere, baillistre ou gardienne de son fils, en sorte qu'elle ne pouvoit plus la vendre, l'engager, la donner, ni la diminuer à son préjudice par quelque contract que ce fut..*"[118] Widows who inherited lands could, on their husbands' demise, remarry only with the consent of the overlord of the land like any other person who held nationally strategic lands.[119] Such legal constraints imposed on the marriage of both the men and the women of the French nobility highlight the grave significance and responsibility which these political/social/economic unions — served by complete households — carried with them.

Paid dependents in the household

The number of the dependents in a household (i.e.*domestiques*), whose duties were multifarious, varied greatly through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Drawing on his own experience, Audiger, a one time soldier who served in Spain and Rome before turning *Maître d'hôtel & limonadier*[120] listed, in *La Maison Reglée* (1692), detailed examples of the kinds of *domestiques* required in different types of household. Amongst these he described "*Maison d'un grand Seigneur...*"; and " *Maison d'une Dame de Qualité...*".[121] In the household of a *grand seigneur* (a bachelor's house) Audigier included: "*Intendant; Aumosnier; Secretaire; Ecuyer; Deux Valet de Chambre; Consierge, ou Tapissier; Maistre d'Hotel; Officier d'Office;*

Cuisinier; Garçon d'Office; Deux Garçons de Cuisine; Deux Pages; Six, ou quatre laquais; Deux cochers; Deux Postillons; Deux Garçons de Carasse; Quatre Palfreniers; Un suisse, ou Portier." He also suggested further *domestiques* who might be employed to serve different *Officiers.*[122] Once married, the *grand seigneur*'s household would increase, and it would increase even further once children appeared. The staff he suggested specifically to attend on children were: *Gouvernante d'enfans, Nourrice, Gouverneur ou Precepteur, Valet de Chambre,* one or two *Laquais,* and a *Servante pour la Nourrice.*[123]

In architectural treatises, the detailed lodging requirements of specific domestic staff in the houses of French noblemen appeared very much later. It seems that Le Camus de Mezières's *Le Genie de l'Architecture* (1780) was the first to mention these, with descriptions of the space requirement he proposed for an extensive list of possible staff members. Of particular interest are Le Camus de Mezières' descriptions of children's quarters together with those of members of staff engaged to look after them. His list of employees is only marginally longer than the one Audiger had proposed nearly one hundred years earlier. Le Camus de Mezières' treatise will be considered in Chapters III & IV.

The liberty of other dependents in the household was just as restricted, in law, as was that of the immediate family. Even if *domestiques* were considered part of the house (*see* pp 61-2) they were considered, in law, as paid agents whom J-N. Guyot describes in *Répertoire Universel et Raisonné de Jurisprudence civile, criminel, canonique et béneficiale* (1784-5): "*..quelqu'un qui reçoit des gages, et demeure dans la maison de la personne qui le paye. Tels sont les valets, laquais...*".[124] According to Guyon their payment was meant to be annual. When Henri Richard, *Docteur en Droit*, considers the legal position of *domestiques* under the *Ancien Droit* in *Du Louage de Services domestiques en Droit Français*, he describes their relationships with their masters as straightforward contractual arrangements: "*Le domestique et le maître sont liés par un contract de louage en vertu duquel le domestique s'engage à servir le maître moyennant un salaire déterminé qui porte aussi le nom des gages.*"[125] When he specified the obligations of the parties to such contracts he stated that: "*..le louage de services à vie est interdit, comme portant atteinte à la liberté humaine...*".[126] Some social historians of recent years view the situation of urban *domestiques* in such houses as *hôtels* differently. J-P. Gutton for example, in his *Domestiques et serviteurs dans la France de l'ancien régime* advanced the theory that

domestiques were not wage earners, but were paid only once they had finally left their post of employment.[127]

The remuneration of the paid members in households varied as much as did their posts. Audiger (1692), indicated the conventional remuneration of a variety of staff in different types of households. The best paid staff member in the house of a *grand Seigneur* was the *maistre d'hotel* who received 500 *livres*, followed by the *écuyer* with 400 *l.*, then the *secretaire*, and the *cuisinier*, each with 300*l.*, followed by many others. All these members of staff might themselves have several *domestiques servants* at their disposal. The *Nourrice* and the *Gouverneur* or *Precepteur* received 300 *livres* each.[128] But, as he made clear in his preface, his suggestion was only a guideline: "*...Je ne diray point icy quels gages ny quelles récompenses les maîtres & maîtresses sont obligez de donner à leurs domestiques, cela se fait à discretion, ou suivant leur pouvoir.*"

In *La Maison Reglée*, Audigier also remarked on the way domestic staff ought to be treated with love and affection: "*...mais comme un vieux proverbe dit,* que les bons Mainstres font les bons valets, *je ne puis m'empescher avant que d'aller plus loin sur le chapitre & devoir de ces derniers, de couler icy quelques mots en passant de ce que les Maîtres & Maistresses doivent à leurs domestiques, & de quelle maniere il faut qu'ils en usent avec eux pour en estre bien servis. Je dirai donc que, si les maîtres & maîtresses tant grands que petits Seigneurs, ou autres de plus mediocre état, veulent que leurs gens ayent de l'amour & de l'affection pour eux, il faut qu'ils les traittent avec douceur & benignité, qu'ils ne se mettent point sur le pied de les casser d'abord...*".[129] He also suggested that consideration need be given to aging domestic staff: "*...ils* (*maîtres & maîtresses*) *doivent tous considerer qu'un vieux domestique qui n'est plus en état d'aprendre un métier ny d'aller servir ailleurs, est veritablement digne de compassion, & que c'est alors qu'ls doivent le plus s'efforcer de leur faire quelque biens, & d'imiter en cela feu Monsieur le Prince de Condé, qui suivant le merite & les services de ses anciens domestiques leur assignoit des pensions, ou leur donnoit des emplois dans ses terres, où ils pouvoient doucement & sans peine passer le reste de leurs jours..*"[130] Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti entered provisions for his staff in his *Testament* (1664): "*Je veux que l'on paye à tous mes domestiques les gages & pensions qui se trouveront leur estre dües au temps de mon deceds, mesme de l'année en laquelle mon deceds arrivera, encore qu'elle ne*

fût pas finie.

"*Je donne à mes Valets de pieds à chacun 400livre une fois payées pour les mettre en métier, & autant au garçon de ma chambre.*"[131] Considerations that seem beyond his contractual obligations.

In general, even the most menial domestic worker in a Parisian noble *hôtel particulier* considered that he was better off than he would be working elsewhere. This was captured by the celebrated moralist and writer Jean de La Bruyère (1639-1696) *écuyer-gentilhomme* to *Monseigneur le duc* (the son of *Prince de Condé*), in *Les Caractères* which first appeared in 1687: "*Le suisse, le valet et l'homme de livreé ne jugent plus d'eux mêmes par leur première bassesse, mais par l'élévation et la fortune des gens qu'ils servent...*".[132] The importance of this workforce can be deduced from the range of edicts and royal declarations which referred to them. Many of these proclamations restricted their appearance (dress and luxury), others forbade them to bear arms. Whereas defiance of the former was subject to fines, defiance of the latter restriction carried the death penalty.[133]

Regulations for engaging *domestiques* were passed by an edict as early as 1350, directed at house owners, warning them against acquiring staff in an ungentlemanly fashion: "*Nul maître ne peut tirer un valet de chez un autre maître, par un plus fort salaire, à peine d'amande*.[134] In order to limit the risk of malpractice by staff, their past honesty needed to be ensured in order to safeguard the security of citizens; to that effect a declaration directed at masters, was issued in 1565: "*Il est défendu de recevoir aucun domestique, s'il ne représente un certificat de son ancien maître.*"[135] There were also restrictions based on moral or religious grounds, as noted in H. Richard's *Du Louage de Services Domestiques en Droit Français*. In 1280 the *Parlement de Paris* forbade Jews from engaging Christian servants. A declaration registered at the *Parlement* in 1685 forbade Protestants from engaging Catholic *domestiques*. This was overturned, however, in the following year when a declaration stated that no Protestant could be engaged as a *domestique* by another Protestant. They could only serve Catholics.[136]

The continuity of the house.

The significance of noble lineage, together with the legal constraints on contracting marriages that might affect the stability of the State, continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries. The right selection of partners to such unions was, therefore, crucial both to the house and the State. As a consequence such marriages were frequently arranged between a daughter in her early teens and a very much older man. One knows from various writers (though details vary somewhat) that according to actual document, Catherine de Vivonne, later *marquise de Rambouillet*, was born in 1588 and was married in January 1600 — when she was twelve years old, or not quite — to Charles d'Angennes Vidame du Mans (twenty-four years old). She remained in her parents' home for several years after her marriage.[137] Also, the orphaned Charles-Philippe d'Albert *duc de Luynes* married at fifteen the thirteen year old Mlle. de Neufchâtel which perhaps explains the Stéphanie-Félicité, *comtesse de Genlis's* comment on past practice: "*...álors, en mariant ses enfans, on vouloit les garder chez soi au moins cinq ou six ans, afin de les produire et de les guider dans le monde...*".[138] The extra-marital activities of both parties to noble marriages are best portrayed in novels of the time.

Jacques de Callières Sieur de Rochelay et de Saint-Romald (? -1662), *Maréchal de bataille des armées du roi*, put forward his thoughts on such unions in *La Fortune des gens de Qualité et des Gentilshommes Particuliers* (1658): "*Dans les mariages il y a trois choses essentielles à considerer, la Naissance, la Personne, et le Bien. Ie mets la Naissance au premier rang...Apres la naissance d'une maistresse, sa personne* (*esprit et corps*)*...Le Bien est la derniere circonstance à examiner dans le Mariage...*".[139]

Financial considerations in marriage seem to have begun in the reign of Louis XIV, when increasing numbers of rich bourgeois civil servants who aspired to noble connections did so through marriage to the offspring of impoverished members of the *ancienne noblesse*. That money had attained a new significance in the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715; he ruled in person from 1651) , is deducible from the appearance of *agents de change* or *agents de banques* in Paris from 1645.[140]

During the reign of Henri IV, as an allegorical engraving of around 1610 showed, there was greater financial equality between the two parties to a marriage (fig. 5). The caption reads: "*Povr se marier on balance a qvi avra plvs dopvlance* ".[141] From the engraving and the caption one can gather that, at the time, the difference in wealth between the two parties was so marginal that it could only be ascertained with the assistance of scales. A similar opinion can be gleaned from

de La Hoguette's (1648) council to his daughters: "*...Vôtre petite portion en mon herité qui est mediocre, ne vous donnera pas un riche mari...*".[142] Later on, when rich civil servants married members of impoverished noble families, there could be little question of who brought the finance and who the noble status to the marriage.

The lineage and status of a House was recorded in its *Livre de raison*. *Livres de raison* (*liber rationum* in Latin) were known in the fifteenth century as *Livres de la maison* (*Liber domus meœ*); they were known all over France, and not only amongst the nobility. They lent an air of history and a stamp of legitimacy to the house. *Les Familles et la Société en France avant la Révolution* (1873; 1879), the findings of Charles de Ribbe (? -1934) was based mainly on unpublished *Lives de Raison*. These records of the domestic administration of houses, were generally in two parts. The first part recorded the origin and history of the family, its genealogy and allegiances. Some pages recorded parentage and kinship, dates of marriage, births of children, deaths and so on. The second part was reserved for the management of the family assets, benefits, debts and inventory of chattel.[143]

Ribbe found that, in addition, it was not unusual for parents to impart some parental advice which was entered either at the beginning or at the end of the register. They extended advice on religion, mores, and conduct in interaction with others. Ribbe believed that these noteworthy instructions were the sap of paternal experience and wisdom combined the loftiest and the most practical pronouncements, and were meant to serve as guidance to their offspring, since youths were too easily swayed by passions. These parental testaments delineated the duties one needed to observe towards God, towards one's neighbour and towards oneself. In the case of men who held public Office such testaments took on the proportions of memoirs.[144]

A similar approach to educating or guiding children was taken up by de La Hoguette in *Testament* (1648), which he divided into three sections detailing man's obligation towards God, towards himself and towards others.[145] Sylvestre du Four in *Instruction Morale d'un Pere à son Fils* (1679) listed the three as: "*...devoirs spirituels, personels & civils.*",[146] and the subtitle of *La Civilité Françoise pour l'instuction de la Jeunesse* (1714) stated that it aimed to teach children their duty vis-à-vis God, their neighbour and themselves. Armand de Bourbon's *Memoires concerning the government of his House* also specified the rules to be observed by his

household and about his estate in both religious and temporal affairs.[147]

The implications of noble lineage were reinforced through the records and instructions in *Livres de Raison.* They instilled an awareness of the responsibilities and values which accompanied the status of nobility. In old families this, and particularly the behaviour appropriate to their status, was instilled in children largely through nurture and absorption of experience, supplemented by an appropriate education. Those who attained their titles and status later on in life, could only acquire an academic, external education, to fit in with the conventions of the French nobility. However a person had acquired his rank, he and his family needed training and education in behaviour appropriate to their noble status.

Though not directly relevant to the period, it seems worth mentioning Leon Batista Alberti's (1404-72) (Italian rather than Latin) version of educational teachings for his family, written between 1434 and 1437. *I Libri della Famiglia* appeared in manuscript in its complete, revised form in 1443, but as members of his family strongly disapproved of this work it did not appear in print during his lifetime. It was printed for the first time in 1734, when it was wrongly ascribed to Angelo Pandolfini, a mistake which was put right only in 1843.[148] Alberti's text is mentioned purely because of Alberti's connections with architecture, and here, with the education of children. It seems interesting that an Italian nobleman and humanist architect would also record or invent, in conversational form, the kind of parental guidance which was imparted in *Livres de raison* or *Livres de la maison* as they were termed in fifteenth-century France (though Alberti's text is very long). French architects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries appear not to have produced such works; however, French architects, even when elevated to noble status, were largely civil servants not from ancient noble families. One knows from *Mémoires du duc de Saint-Simon* the latter's cynical view of Hardouin-Mansart: "*On le soupçonna d'être son [le grand Mansart] bâtard...Sans se méconnoître en effet, la grossièrté qui lui étoit demeurée le rendoit ridiculement familier; il tiroit un fils de France par la manche, et frappoit sur l'épaule d'un prince du sang; en ne peut juger comme il en usoit avec d'autres...*",[149] which pointedly expressed the lack of manners of someone who, though of an architectural dynasty, was certainly not from the hereditary nobility.

As noted, Alberti (*see* p 65) believed that the same vices which could corrupt the government of

States could corrupt the government of families or houses. The purpose of his work is to undertake, therefore "...to investigate with all seriousness and diligence what might be the wisdom, applicable to the conduct and education of fathers and of the whole family...".[150] The first of the four books in his work is entitled "Of the Duties of the Old towards the Young and of the Young towards their Elders, and of the Education of Children". He believed that: "The old cannot more appropriately acquire, increase, and conserve great authority and dignity than by caring for the young."[151] Similar values and considerations were put on fathers and sons in French law of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The family's *Livre de Raison* was part of the legacy of the first born male. He would then inscribe in it his own marriage, the births of his children and, in the tradition of his predecessors, he would add all assets of the House. When younger sons married and wished to start a *Livre de raison* for their own family, they had access to the ancestral book, from which they could copy the history of their ancestry, their origins and the parental advice advanced in it.[152] The values held in these households — concerning behaviour appropriate to their status, and behaviour towards other members of the household and visitors — committed to the family-book, filtered through to those who resided under the same roof, through practice and teaching.

An appreciation of the value of good birth, or of the house one belonged to, is found in an early seventeenth-century French work on the conduct of noblemen at court. Nicolas Faret (1599-1646), himself of low birth (according to Dr K. Wilhelm, Faret was the son of a shoemaker[153]), was first in the employ of MM. de Vaugelas, de Bois-Robert and de Coëffeteau, then secretary to *comte d'Harcour*, his *Intendant de Maison*, and subsequently the King's secretary. He was also one of the original members of the *Académie Françoise*[154] In his *L'Honneste Homme ou l'Art de plaire à la Cour* (1630) Faret paraphrases Baltˌassare Castiglione's statement in *The Courtier* (1528): "*...je diray premierement qu'il me semble tres-necessaire que celuy qui veut entrer dans ce grand commerce du monde soit nay Gentil-Homme, et d'une maison qui ait quelque bonne marque.*"[155] A work now much less known than Faret's is *Diverses Leçons de Loys* (1604) in five books, by Dolois Guyon Sieur de la Nauche (?-1630), *Conseilleur du Roy en ses Finance au Lymosin*. In book II, entitled *Du Courtisan, et quel il doit être* Guyon expresses a similar view: "*Premierement celuy qui desire de suyure la Cour des Empreurs, Roys Roynes...faut qu'il soit né gentil-homme de noble maison d'ancienneté...*".[156]

EDUCATION and MANNERS

As certain external formal devices like fabrics, dress, colours, jewellery and so on, were used to distinguish members of the French nobility and set them (or the State) apart, so too, did the external formality of address and manners accorded them by their status. The positive aim of these formal devices was to enhance the function of the State through the creation of a coherent society, visible and comprehensible by contemporaries. (The negative aspects of such a system, and society — the domain of social historians — will not be considered here.) The importance of emulating the formal trappings which accompanied status was noted in *De l'Education d'un Prince* (1670) by the Jansenite moralist Pierre Nicole (1625-?), member of a distinguished family, who taught at Port-Royal): "*Les Grands, par example, sont obligez par leur condition mesme d'estre dans un exercise continuel de civilité, & quand ils s'en acquittent comme il faut, elle sert beaucoup à attirer l'estime & l'amour des hommes...*".[157] The trappings were there, as he saw it, for others to distinguish and admire those who practised them.

Though there were marked differences between the second Estate and the rest of the population, the second Estate itself was markedly subdivided within its own ranks (*see above*, pp 48-9). A similar system, or miniature State, distinguished members of households, with clear boundaries for each member or rank of the household. Everyone was expected to behave according to their standing, so that a household could function harmoniously. This involved interaction between members of the household whatever their status, as well as social interaction between members of society in general; much of the interaction took the form of verbal exchange or conversation. The physical negotiation of spaces in the house will be dealt with in Chapters III & IV.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there seems to have been some evolution in the formal behaviour of the French nobility in the transition from *courtoisie* to *civilité* or *honnêteté*. Even if Sainte-Palaye could write that "*Courtoisie; c'est-à-dire civilité ou honnêteté*",[158] it seems that there was a wide gap between the two. *Courtoisie*, the behaviour expected of men-at-arms, was closer to the customs at court and to the customs of *chevalerie*, an older ritualistic form. It relied on external, theatrical, impersonal artifice of posture and grand gesture which turned its participants into puppets or operatic figures. One of the characteristics

of *Courtoisie* lay in the disdain of men-at-arms for study and books.[159] Faret speaks of "*De la courtoisie des grands en nostre cour...*",[160] and under "De leur [honneste gens] courtoisie" he writes: "*Sans etude ils sont civils et courtois*"[161] On the other hand, in the anonymous *l'Art de Plaire dans la Conversation* (1688): "*...les qualité que nous appellons Civilité...nos François, & l'urbanité des Romans tirent leur origine de deux mots...Cité & Ville.*"[162]

For the transformation from *courtoisie* to *civilité* to take place, an arena was required. The concentration, in Paris, of relatively large number of members of the nobility together with eminent artists brought about transitions in cultural pastimes. This was so particularly since members of the ancient nobility could be demoted from their Offices, and since many women of this class could easily meet in civil settings. The French had enjoyed physical exercise according to Desbois; some forms were still available in his own day, in towns, to members of the nobility as well as to commoners: *Paume*, *Longue paume*, *Mail*, and *Boule*. Games of chance were forbidden by the Church. The hunt and tournaments were favoured pastimes reserved to the old nobility in the countryside. Under the reigns of Henri IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV and Louis XV, Desbois believed, more civilized and *honnêtes* diversions came into being: *jeux de commerce spectacles*, and *bals*, depending on the occasion.[163] A more extensive list of games and agreeable civil pastimes can be found in *Maison des Jeux Academiques* (1658) by Charles Sorel, Seigneur de Souvigny (1597-1674). One agreeable diversion not included in his list, and which could only partially be termed a game, was conversation.

Faret's renowned early example of a French manual of behaviour, *L'Honnête Homme ou, l'Art de plaire à la Cour* (1630) was a guide for men of the armed nobility frequenting the Court. In *la Bibliotheque Françoise* (1667) Sorel comments that there were those who believed this work ought to have been entitled *L'Honneste Courtisan* or *Le bon Courtisan.* Those in town complained that its title implied that all *honnestes hommes* were at court and that therefore an additional work, *Honneste Homme de la Ville*, should be published. Sorel himself believed the original title to be apt. He further believed that the observations in Faret's book were novel (not based on Castiglione as was widely thought). Faret still describes the profession of a *gentil-homme:* "*C'est par les armes principalement que la noblesse s'acquiert, c'est par les armes, aussi qu'elle se doit conserver, et s'ouvrir le chemin à la grande reputation et de là aux grands honneurs.*"[164] He was apparently still concerned with courtiers and the ancient *noblesse d'épée*

and its practices: "*...les examples sont assez communs de ceux qui d'une basse naissance se sont eslevez à des actions heroïques et a des grandeurs illustres.*",[165] and with armed heroes, of whom he said "*...tous ceux qui, comme l'on dit, ne sçauroient jamais parler qu'a cheval, devroient passer leur chemin pour aller à la guerre, sans s'arrester aupres des femmes.*"[166]

In contrast to Faret's description of the profession of an *honnête homme*, Antoine Gombaud *chevalier de Méré* (1607-1685), in *Les Conversations* (1668), has this to say of the occupation of urban man: "*...un honnête homme n'a point metier...*".[167] External appearances seem to have been the main issue, for he continues: "*Quoy qu'il sçache parfaitement une chose, et que mesme il soit obligé d'y passer sa vie, il me semble que sa maniere d'agir, ni son entretien, ne le font point remarquer;*".[168] A generally similar view of men's conduct was held by Jean-Baptiste de La Salle (1651-1719), founder of the *Institut des frères des écoles chretiennes: "Il est...de la conduite d'un Homme sage, de ne jamais se faire distinguer en rien.*",[169] that is, inconspicuous, steady conduct was the desired norm.

Behaviour in the French nobility, commensurate with *civilité*, integrated the notions of tranquil, civil, urbanity in which both sexes intermingled. Here, uncouthness, ignorance and lack of cultural refinement, the attributes of men-at-arms, were out of place. The changes which emerged with the rise of *civilité* were noticeable in the form and rules of civil interaction which emerged in writings through the acknowledgement of the personality and thus the humanity of individuals. Feelings and the details of life, both inner and outer, played an increasing part in conversation and writing and changed the perception of man from that of a symbol to that of a living being. The focus was no longer on symbolic actions and moral principles, but on details of the individual and his interactions with others.

During the reign of Henri IV, members of the Parisian nobility formed a group separate from that of the Court. Catherine de Vivonne, *marquise de Rambouillet*, has been credited with initiating many cultural changes in the Parisian nobility in the early seventeenth century. Catherine de Vivonne was born in Rome in 1588 to Jean de Vivonne, *marquis de Pisani* (French ambassador to Rome) and to the Italian princess, Julia Savelli. She was a relation of Marie de Médici, who married Henri IV in the same year in which Catherine de Vivonne married Charles d'Angennes, later *marquis de Rambouillet.*[170]

At that time in history members of the nobility were expected to attend Court, but the manners at the Court of Henri IV did not meet with Catherine de Vivonne's approval. She considered them coarse, liberal, and cavalier. As a result, once her daughter was born in 1607, she stopped attending Court, and started to receive company at home, where she established her legendary *salon littéraire.* It was the first *salon littéraire* in Paris; it flourished from 1607 to 1648 and was known as the *Palais d'Arthenice* (Arthenice is an anagram of Catherine, coined by Malherbe[171]). Some of its members went on to become the first members of the *Académie françoise* when it was founded by Richelieu in 1635.[172] The *marquise de Lambert* expressed her admiration of the long extinct *Salon de Rambouillet* in *Reflexions nouvelles sur les Femmes* (1727): "*Il y avoit autrefois des maisons, où il étoit permis de parler & de penser, où les Muses étoient en societé avec les Graces. On y alloit prendre des leçons de politesse & de délicatesse: les plus grandes Princesses s'y honoroient du commerce des gens d'esprit.*[173] She continued with reservations about the pastimes in her own time: "*Un Hôtel de Rambouillet si honoré dans le siecle passé seroit le ridicule du nôtre...*".[174] From the reign of Louis XIII to the end of the eighteenth-century other *Salons Littéraire*, varying in character, flourished in Paris; many were established by women.[175]

With the rise of *civilité*, reading and writing became an honourable pastime for members of the French nobility. From early in the seventeenth century, works of fiction and other literary works began to appear from the hands of its members. *L'Astrée* (1610-20), a landmark in French literature, which Sorel (1664) evaluated as "*...ouvrage tres exquis...*",[176] and which was said to have influenced other French writers and to have changed the mores of French society, was the creation of Honoré d'Urfée (1568-1625) the younger son of a very ancient family. Madeleine de Scudéry, a member of *salon de Rambouillet* who later ran her own salon, also contributed to French literature. Her *Artamène ou Le Grand Cyrus* (2nd edition 1650-1653) emerged as a communal experience. She read out sections of it in the weekly meetings of the salon. Mme de la Fayette, Le Pays, Méré, Marivaux, P-A-F-Choderlos de Laclos and de la Rochefoucauld are a few writers drawn from the ranks of the nobility.

The education of children

Correct upbringing and education was thought so crucial that it was considered to be a kind of

second birth, as the Abbé Goussault writes in *Le Portrait d'une Femme Honnête, raisonable & veritablement Chrêtienne* (1694). He considered the responsibility of proper education to be the task of women: "*Une Femme honnête & raisonnable s'applique à bien élever ses Enfans; elle regarde leur éducation comme une seconde naissance, sans laquelle le premiere ne sert souvent qu'à les couvrir de confusion.*"[177] The *Encyclopédie* (1751-65) advanced the theory that "*...les regles de l'ancienne courtoisie ont eu pour objet les manieres. Elles sont encore en France, plus que dans le reste de l'Europe, un des objets de cette deuxième éducation qu'on reçoit en entrant dans le monde, et qui par malheur s'accorde trop peu avec la premiere... Etablir les manieres par des lois, ce n'est que donner un culte à la vertu.*"[178]

Inevitably, it was much easier to know how the nobility worked if one was born into and nurtured in it. Early teaching was recommended by Stéphanie-Félicité, Brulart de Sillery, *comtesse de Genlis* (1746-1830) in *Nouvelle méthode d'enseignement pour la première enfance*(1799) where she described her new method of instruction for the young: "*...il est certain qu'il est très-important de la* [*éducation*] *commencer dès l'âge de dix-huit mois ou deux ans. L'enfant alors entend, comprend beaucoup de choses, et commence à parler...L'éducation qui convient à cet âge jusqu'à quatre ou cinq ans, doit être toute en examples...*".[179]

The importance of learning through practice, though applied to a somewhat older child, had by then been emphasized in Montaigne's essay "De l'Institution des Enfans" (1580): "*...se meslant toutes nos actions, se coulera sans se faire sentir, les ieuz mesmes et les exercices seront vne partie de l'estude la course, la luite, la danse, le maniement des cheuaux et des armes. Ie veux que la bienseance exterieure et l'entregens se façonnent quant et quant l'ame.*"[180] and: "*Qu'on luy mette en fantaisie vne honeste curiosité de s'enquerir de toutes choses*",[181] "*..qu'il iuge du profit qu'il aura fait, non par le temoignage de sa memoire, mais de son jugement...*".[182] Montaigne's views on education were echoed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In *Traité d'Education chretienne & litteraire* (1687), Pierre Coustel (1621-1704), who taught at Port-Royal since 1650, expressed a similar view: "*La maniere d'ajir libre, honneste, & bien-seante, c'est ce que j'appelle icy politesse & civilité...il faut mesme les* (*maxims*) *metre en pratique, suivant cét axiome des Philosophes, qu'on n'apprend bien que par la pratique les choses qu'on n'apprend pour pratiquer.*"[183] And de Grenaille remarked in *L'Honneste Garçon* (1642): "*Il suffit de dire que la ciuilité se doit plutost aprendre par pratique que par theorie...*".[184]

In contrast to those born into the nobility, those who were honoured later in life were unfamiliar with the rules of behaviour of the nobility and with the social implications of these. Yet status, according to P. Nicole, was maintained in part through the fluency and practice of the code of behaviour ascribed to it. New members of the nobility therefore had to learn the rules academically or externally; education was considered a second birth.[185]

A child of noble family was educated either at home or as a page, in the home of another nobleman. The status of pages and the tasks they were expected to perform are found in a variety of sources. Nicot's dictionary (1621) had Page as "*...serviteur allant apres son seigneur.*" Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* (1690) defined Page as "*...un enfant d'honneur qu'on met auprès du prince & des grand seigneurs, pour les servir, avec leur livrées, & en même temps y recevoir une honnête éducation, & y apprendre leurs exercices.*"[186] This explanation was repeated verbatim in the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65), whose entry seems to be a collection of earlier sources. It also spelt out the distinction between two sorts of page: "*...savoir pages d'honneur, & les communs. Les* pages *d'honneur n'estoient que chez les princes & les souverains...Les* pages communs *sont issus de simple noblesse, & servent les chevaliers ou seigneurs; car simple gentilhomme ne doit point avoir* pages, *mais seulement laquais qui sont roturiers.*"[187] In Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois's dictionary (1767): "*Page, Varlet ou Damoiseau: nom qu'on donnoit à un gentilhomme que l'on retiroit des mains des femmes à l'âge de sept ou huit ans, pour le mettre auprès de quelque haut baron...Cette place n'avoit rien de deshonnorable.*

"*Les pages...n'avoient d'autre fonctions que de remplir les services ordinaires des domestiques, près de la personne de leur maîtres, pour se former sur le modele des chevaliers, aux graces extérieures si nécessaires dans le commerce du monde, & dont le monde peut seul donner des leçons...*".[188] La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697-1781), in *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie* (1781), indicated that once out of the hands of women, it was customary to entrust a page "*aux hommes. Une éducation mâle & robuste le préparoit de bonne heure aux travaux de la guerre, dont la profession étoit la même que celle de la Chevalerie..*"[189] As he was writing of the *Ancienne Chevalerie*, the practices and behaviour which he described, typified an institution which was dying out in the seventeenth century.

The formal education of sons of the nobility in noble households — their own or those of others' — included religion, military exercises (including sports), diplomacy and academic subjects. Though not officially part of the curriculum, absorbing manners and relating to women through interaction with the immediate surroundings was expected of the child.

Sainte-Palaye refers to the removal of sons of the nobility, at an early age, from the hands of the women with whom they had been familiar from birth, and with whom they might have interacted informally. In the house in which he was to be brought up he was confronted by other women with whom he was not familiar, and with whom his relationship would be (initially, at least) reticent, formal and reverential. Yet it was these *Dames* in noble houses who took the trouble to teach pages their catechism and the art of loving, and these same *Dames* to whom, according to Sainte-Palaye, that part of the education of pages was confided: "*...Les premieres leçons qu'on leur donnoit, regardoient principalement* l'amour de Dieu & des Dames". The childishness and superstition of pages confused the love of women with fanaticism.[190] He also believed that: "*Les préceptes de religion laissoient au fond de leur cœur une sorte de vénération pour les choses saintes, qui tôt ou tard y reprenoit le dessus. Les préceptes d'amour, répandoient dans le commerce de Dames ces considérations & ces égards respectueux, qui n'ayant jamais été effacés de l'esprit des François, ont toujours faits un des caractères distinctifs de notre Nation.*"[191] To him: "*Les Cours & les Châteaux étoient d'excellentes écoles de courtoisie.*"[192] While he refers to *Cours*, *Châteaux* and *courtoisie*, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the teaching of *civilité and honnêteté* to pages, also took place in the urban households of noblemen.

Montaigne (1533-92) had also lauded this way of educating sons of the nobility: "*Cet un bel usage de nostre nation, qu'aux bonnes maisons nos enfans soyent receus, pour y estre nourris et eslevez pages, comme en une escole de noblesse; & est discourtoisie, dit on, & injure d'en refuser un gentilhomme...*".[193] On the other hand he disapproved of educating such children at home: "...by living at home the authority of the tutor, which ought to be sovereign over the child is often checked, interrupted and hindered by the presence of the parents. Besides, the respect the whole household bears him as their master's son is, in my opinion, no small hindrance during the tender years."[194]

Because there was an educational aspect to the presence of young pages in noble households, Armand de Bourbon, laid down specific rules for tuition in his own household. Besides religious instructions and attending mass and learning to fence, pages had to attend the Academy, and had set times for reading and for mathematics.[195] The human bonds forged between pages and members of the household in which they were brought up are described by La Curne de Sainte-Palaye: "*...une longue et ancienne habitude de vivre ensemble ne pouvoit manquer de former entre les uns & les autres, étant resserrées par le double nœud du bienfait & de la reconnoissance devenoient indissolubles.*"[196] It is clear that such an upbringing created circumstances in which attachments were formed between those born into the nobility. Those who were ennobled later in life were, inevitably, outsiders.

The education of daughters in noble households did not receive such rigorous or conscientious attention as did that of sons. This was noted by the enlightened or disheartened Anne-Therese de Marguenat de Courcelles, *marquise de Lambert* (1648-1733): "*On a dans tous les tems négligé l'éducation des Filles; l'on n'a d'attention que pour les Hommes; & comme si les Femmes étoient une Espece à part on les abandonne à elles-mêmes sans secours: sans penser qu'elles composent la moitié du Monde...; que c'est par elles que les Maisons s'élevent ou se détruissent; que l'éducation des enfans leur est confiée dans la premiere jeunesse, tems où les impressions se font plus vives & plus profondes. Que veut-on qu'elles leur inspirent, puisque des l'enfance on les abandonne elles-mêmes à des Gouvernantes qui étant prises ordinairement dans le peuple, leur inspirent des sentimens bas, qui réveillent toutes les passions timides, & qui mettent la superstition à la place de la Religion?* "[197] She obviously considered religion the salvation for women in all circumstances: "*La Religion seule calme tout, & console de tout; en vous unissant à Dieu, elle vous reconcilie avec le Monde & avec vous-même.*"[198]

Early education of children of both sexes was the responsibility of *gouvernantes*, but when boys were removed to be educated by a *gouverneur* or *precepteur*, girls in noble households remained at home and continued their education with the *gouvernante. Gouvernantes* varied, however; even if the *marquise de Lambert* considered *gouvernantes* to be badly educated, Stéphanie-Félicité, *comtesse de Genlis* (1746-1830), for example, acted as *gouvernante* to the children of the *duc d'Orleans* from 1782. Her duties included the education of his two sons, one

of whom was eight when she took on the task which she pursued for several years.[199] Nonetheless, this great educationalist subtitled her epistolary work on education *Adèle et Théodore* (1782) "*principes relatifs aux trois différens plans d'éducation des princes; des jeunes personnes et des hommes.* Whilst it is not clear whether *jeunes personnes* included girls, her work was certainly not concerned with women.

When education of the young took place in institutions, and not at home, it was directed and overseen by the Church. As early as 1559 the Protestant Church started providing free primary education, hoping to sow the seeds of its doctrine at an early age. The Catholic Church, considering this move a threat, intensified its teachings and its pressure on the monarchy against Protestantism. For a while, Huguenot schools flourished in France but eventually religious dogma was excluded from the subjects they were permitted to teach. With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1686 Louis XIV suspended their teaching altogether. According to Elizabeth-Charlotte, *duchesse d'Orleans:* "That old Maintenon and Père La Chaise had persuaded him [Louis XIV] that all the sin he had committed with Mme de Montespan would be pardoned, if he persecuted and extirpated the professors of the reformed religion; and that this was the only path to heaven. The poor King believed it fervently, for he had never seen a bible in his life...".[200]

The Jansenite Abbey of Port-Royal established in 1624 and demolished in 1709 in the faubourg Saint-Jacques of Paris opened its *petites-écoles* for teaching girls in 1637. In addition to religious subjects, the tuition included "...virtue, needlework, housekeeping, singing by notes...There was no trace of teaching of history or the natural sciences." The school took in up to twelve girls under the age of ten. If they did not wish to become nuns, girls could remain till the age of sixteen years.[201] It was common in France, particularly in houses of depleted wealth, for younger daughters to enter religious establishments for life.

The pedantry and specialisation which was anathema to members of the nobility and avoided by adults was also reflected in pedagogical writing and in the education of the young. On the other hand some, like the *comtesse de Genlis*, believed that no basic education was complete without some learning: "*D'abord on éleva à la Jean-Jacques; point de maîtres point de leçons; les enfans de la première jeunesse furent livrés à la nature; et comme la nature n'apprend pas*

l'orthographe et encore moins le latin...".[202]

Though fathers were expected to ensure that their children received an education, it seems that this requirement was not always met. De Grenaille, in *L'Honneste Garçon* (1642) encouraged the education of the third Estate: "*Le Tiers Estat est moins excellent que la noblesse, et neantmoins il tire de pareils auantages de l'Education...elle est dautant plus necessaire aux personnes de cet ordre...*".[203] Academic instruction in *civilité* formed part of the education of children at monastic institutions like Port-Royal, and the schools of the Brotherhood of La Salle. The majority of children were to hold, throughout their lives, subordinate or inferior status. *Civilité* was fully practised almost exclusively by the nobility. Yet those residing with them had to know the codes and behave accordingly so that the houses could function smoothly. Also, outside the house, since domestic staff were considered part of the household and so represented it, their behaviour reflected back on the House.[204]

The education of adolescents and adults

As has already been mentioned (pp 65-7), once adolescents had come of age, they frequently had no power of decision over the options open to them. In noble families in reduced circumstances, or in families who did not wish to divide their property, only one child was introduced into *le Monde.* Thus only one child was born into society, so that the glory of the house remained more or less intact in name and in its assets. The younger sons and daughters of such families frequently took up religion as a vocation. In 1648, de La Hoguette (whose means were limited) gives his view of the options open to his daughters: "*...quoi qu'on m'ait assez souvent conseillé de vous mettre en Religion, je ne l'ai pas voulu faire, parce que c'est une vocation qui doit venir de Dieu & de vous, et non pas de moi seul...*". He went on to say that as life in Society had drawbacks which rendered it undesirable, so religious life had charms which attracted. He disapproved, however, of the early age at which girls had to make up their minds to join convents: "*Je ne puis comprendre comment on a pû consentir que cette profession se fît en l'âge de quinze ans...*".[205] He then put forward the option of marriage, which he also did not encourage them to take up: "*...je n'oserois vous conseiller de vous marier, car si la clôture a quelque chose d'affreux, le mariage ne le doit pas estre moins à une Demoiselle qui a peu de bien, comme vous...*".[206] He elegantly put to them his rather unconventional view: "*Entre l'honneur d'un vieux athlete & d'une vielle fille, il n'y a de la difference que de sexe; celle qui*

preserve en cet état jusques à la fin, fournit une glorieuse carriere."[207] De La Hoguette presented all the options with their advantages and disadvantages. And though he proposed the most unconventional solution as appropriate for his daughters, his liberal attitude of leaving the decision to them seems somewhat unusual for his time. The popularity of this work was such that it had been republished several times by 1697. Younger sons had the option of joining monastic institutions or the military.

When the descendants of noble houses left the places in which they were brought up and educated to enter Society, they were faced with a culture shock. This was particularly so for those educated in religious institutions. The refinement of manners on the one hand, and the overtly libertine practices of some members of the French nobility, on the other, are detectable in contemporary literature. *De la connoissance des bons Livres* (1671) which received its *privileges* in 1663, noted the licentiousness in French Society. It saw in literary works, even then, a moral decline in society: "*Tous les jeunes Amans dont l'on trouve l'Histoire en nos anciens Livres* [i.e. novels such as *l'Asrée*], *ont veritablement beaucoup de passion; mais (comme disent les Precieuses) ils ne donnent tous que dans l'amour permis: S'ils ayement les filles, et s'ils en sont quelquefois aymez, c'est à dessein d'obtenir la fin de leurs desirs par le sacré lien du Mariage; dans les Romans d'aujourd'huy...ce sont par tout des hommes qui tournent leurs desseins vers des femmes mariées, et les importunent de leurs poursuites pour tacher de les corrompre...*".[208] But standards must have slipped progressively as, some hundred and ten years later, a work much more open to this kind of reproach appeared with the publication of P-A-F-Choderlos de Laclos's *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782).

While reverence for women, God and the State was instilled in the hearts and minds of young men by the code of *chevalerie*, in reality this reverence did not extend to women's education. In *Avis d'une Mere à sa Fille* (1728?), the *marquise de Lambert* advising her daughter who was about to enter Society, stressed that Religion was the only stable and safe recourse. She disapproved of facile education: "*Rien n'est donc si mal entendu que l'éducation qu'on donne aux jeunes personnes: on les destine à plaire; on ne leur donne de leçons que pour les agrémens...*

"*Il ne suffit pas, ma fille, pour être estimable, de s'assujettir extérieurement aux bienseances; ce sont les sentimens qui forment le caractere, qui conduisent l'esprit, qui gouvernent la*

volonté...Quel sera le principe de ces sentimens? La Religion, quand elle sera gravé dans notre cœur...".[209]

Yet the quality of *agrément*, an underlying ingredient of *civilité*, governed words and actions in noble society, as Méré explains in *Des Agrémens* (1677): "*...les vrais Agrémens ne veulent rien qui ne soit moderé.*"[210] (Though little is known of the life of Antoine Gombaud, *chevalier de Méré* (1607-1685) there is reason to believe that he frequented the literary circle of the *marquise de Rambouillet.*[211]) *Agrément* created and maintained an equilibrium of passions or harmony of behaviour which avoided the tumult associated with shocks. To this end de Grenaille (1642) believed that children needed to be taught to distinguish clearly between that which was appropriate and that which was not: "*...Ie veux dõc que l'hõneste garçon entende parfaitement la ciuilité...Ce qui choque dans la societé , où ce qui plaist generalement à tout le mõde ne lui doit pas estre incõnu.*"[212] In *Essai de Morale* (1678), P. Nicole rephrases Méré's sentiment of *agrément*, and adds a recipe for causing its undesirable antithesis: "*Regle generale pour conserver la paix. Ne blesser personne, & ne se blesser de rien. Deux manieres de choquer les autres. Contredire leurs opinions. S'opposer à leurs passions.*"[213] Shocks were as unacceptable to *civilité* as were contrasts in architecture.

Agrément, biensèance and *civilité* were best demonstrated in the social pastime of conversation in which both sexes took part. Literary versions of this pastime in "De l'Air qu'il est bon d'avoir dans la Conversation" from *l'Art de Plaire dans la Conversation* (1688) impart the quality of *agrément* whose influence permeated all aspects of life in society: "*...c'est cét Air galant ou de la Politesse que répand de l'agrément sur toutes les choses...Sur le visage, sur la contenance, & dans l'entretien, sur les habits, la Table, les meubles, dés l'équipage, & jusques aux bâtimens.*"[214] In *Modeles de Conversations pour les Personnes Polies* (1697), the Abbé Morvan de Bellegarde elaborates on the subtlety of *agrément:* "*Le plus grand secret de la Conversation est de se proportionner au caractere des personnes que l'on frequente; il en faut en quelque maniere prendre le point & le degré de leur esprit, pour s'abaisser, ou pour s'élever selon les occurrences, & pour leur dire des choses qui leur conviennent.*"[215] *Argément*, therefore, could not be subjected to fixed rules. The only possible rule applicable to it was the need to be pliable and adjust oneself to every person with whom one had dealings, depending on that person's status and world view. The *Encyclopédie* seems less concerned with the

person addressed. It took Méré's general view that too much profundity might give rise to differences of opinion and was therefore best avoided: "*Les lois de la Conversation sont en général de ne s'y appésantir sur aucun objet, mais de passer legerment, sans effort et sans affectation, d'un sujet à un autre...en un mot de laisser, pour ainsi dire, aller, son esprit en liberté, et comme il veut ou comme il peut; de ne point s'emparer seul et avec tyrannie de la parole; de n'y point avoir le ton dogmatique et magistral...*".[216] Moderation and avoidance of dogmatism seem therefore to be the underlying traits of *agrément* in conversation, the guidelines for that harmony embodied in the *civilité* expected of the young as well as adults.

Conversations

The Spanish Jesuit Père Baltasar Gracian (1584-1658) considered conversation "*...la fille du raisonnement, la mêre de savoir, la respiration de l'ame, le commerce des cœurs, le lien de l'amitié, la nouriture du contentement, & l'occupation des gens d'esprit.*"[217] This is taken from *Oraculo Manual* (1647) or: *L'Homme de Cour* (1684), translated into French by Abraham-Nicolas Amelot de la Houssaie (1634-1706). From this translation it would appear that Père Gracian further believed that "*...le véritable art de converser est de la faire sans art...*".[218] According to Méré conversation which "*..veut estre, pure, libre, honneste, & plus souvent enjoüée..*"[219] was a pastime in the pursuit of civilized eloquence: "*Le plus grand usage de la parole parmy les personnes du monde, c'est la conversation; de sorte que les gens qui s'en acquittent le mieux, sont à mon gré les plus éloquens.*"[220] Much of the interaction of the nobility was in the form of verbal exchange. It is, perhaps, worth remembering that in *Le Cabinet des Beaux Arts* (1690), Charles Perrault classes eloquence as a fine art, and that in 1746 the Abbé Batteux classes eloquence and architecture as arts which combined both usefulness and pleasure.[221]

l'Art de Plaire dans la Conversation (1688) set some parameters for this form of interaction: "*... Il faudroit que les sciences obscures & les grandes affaires eussent moins de part dans leur discours que la bienséance & le divertissement.*"[222] Interest in this diversion is noted in *La Bibliotheque Françoise* (1664) by Charles Sorel, especially in "Des Livres pour la Conduite de la Vie dans le Monde", which recommends manuals of manners (some in conversational form), starting with Italian works of the previous century and progressing through French ones. Another work attributed to him, *De la connoissance des Bons Livres* (1671), discusses moral

novels and the correct forms of speech for specific situations in addition to French manuals of manners. In this work the view that "*Il faut parler principalement de nos livres de Morales de Politique, d'Histoire, & de ceux qui concernent la vie civile, & mesmes qui sont pour le Divertissement assez utile dans nostre langage si necessaire au commerce des Villes & de la Cour,* "[223] is expressed. Sorel's stress on French civil, urban life highlights its novelty. In Italy, whence *civilité* was imported into France, polite society had long resided in towns; in France, according to T.F. Crane, members of this class had until relatively recently lived in small provincial courts in the south.[224]

Comte Pierre-Louis Roederer (1754-1835), in *Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire de la Société polie en France* (1835), considers that the new form of fashionable conversation was already in evidence in Paris at the end of the sixteenth century. He also believed that the use of civil conversation as a pastime by members of both sexes of the Parisian nobility was purely French. He claimed that the Germans pursued philosophical arguments and the English, political, economic and social discussions, conducted solely in the company of men. That the pipe, cigar, beer, tea and wine blended excitement with fumes to induce some feeble animation of spirit and imagination in such gatherings. And that the French, on the other hand, introduced a perfect parity between women and men in polite society, which gave rise to a wide range of conversation.[225] G. Lecocq (1877) put it more succinctly: "*Les Anglais discutent, les Allemends chicannent, les Espagnols conspirent: c'est en France seulement que l'on cause, ou plutlôt causait au temps de la belle Société et des beaux esprits.*"[226] Roederer continued: "*La conversation française, commune aux deux moitiés de la société, excitée, modérée, mesurée par les femmes, est seule une conversation nationale, sociale, c'est, si on peut dire, la conversation humaine, puisque tout y entre & que tout le monde y prend part.*"[227] (The French were never shy in evaluating themselves as noted in Chapter I.) A more sober historical view is expressed in *l'Art de Plaire dans la Conversation* (1688): "*Le François est trop vif pour demeurer des heures entiéres à faire des complimens inutiles. Les Italiens au contraire, plus patiens, de plus grand loisir, & d'esprit plus souple, pouroient bien nous avoir apporté ces cérémonies. Cependant le fameux Monsieur de la Caze (Archevêque de Benevent, dans Galatée) dit, que les Cérémonies ont passé d'Espagne en Italie; mais quand cela serait, & que les Espagnols les auroient prises des Maures de Grenade, aussi bien que la Galanterie...Je me suis toujours imaginé que les Italiens en ont fait une espece d'Art, & qu'ils en tiennent comme*

un Regître que l'on pourroit appeller, Cérémonial."[228]

Both Roederer and Lecocq seem to have ignored the Italian origin of the behaviour which the French assimilated. One needs to bear in mind also the direct Italian and Spanish cultural influence on the French Court, and through it, on the French nobility. Marie de Medicis acted as regent (1610-1614) during the minority of her son Louis XIII, and the Spanish Anne of Austria was regent (1643-1651) during the minority of Louis XIV.

A view of the moderating effect of women's presence on men, coloured with less patriotism than those of Roederer and Lecocq, is expressed by Méré (1668): "*Aussi n'est on jamais tout-à-fait honnête homme, ou du moins galant homme, que les Dames ne s'en soient mêlées.*"[229] In this sphere of life at least, women, though still revered (as under the code of *chevalerie* and *courtoisie*), were now on equal footing with men, no longer considered a species apart. The presence of women in urban company was the force which set the boundaries of behaviour in French noble society, governed by *civilité* or *honnêteté.*

Despite the general nature and style of Faret's work (largely based on earlier sources[230]) it nonetheless recommends some civil accomplishments for men-at-arms at court: "*Après les actions viennent les paroles...font le plus grand et le plus ordinaire commerce de la vie des hommes...que c'est d'elle que dépend cette agreable facilité de s'exprimer, que l'on remarque en plusieurs personnes, et que nous admirons aux femmes...*".[231] He includes a chapter "De la Conversation des Femmes" of which conversation he says: "*...elle est la plus douce et la plus agreable, elle est aussi la plus difficile de toutes les autres.*"[232] Like the rest of his work, this section was theoretical and not illustrated by examples.

The earlier *Les Diverses Leçons de Loys* (1604), by Guyon, did not consider conversation a prerequisite of a man-at-arms, but Guyon expected: "*Qu'il sçache user de toutes armes...qu'il scache luitter, sauter, dancer, ioüer, d'aucuns ou plusieurs instrumens de musique, mesme chanter, soit Poëte, historien: sçache parler diuerses langues...doit auoir esté aux pays où ces langues se pratique.*
"*N'vsera point de sotte presomption...ny se mal-aduisé de dire aucunesfois paroles qui offensent, au lieu de vouloir complaire...*".[233] According to Méré: "*Le bon art qui fait qu'on*

excelle à parler, ne se montre que sous une apparence naturelle...",[234] which he demonstrated through example in *Les Conversations.*

Educational texts

Fluency in conversations and easy familiarity with *civilité*, of which conversation was a part, were attainable through education, literature and practice. The French texts which set examples of proper behaviour in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fell, broadly speaking, into two categories. The first, addressed to the young — though it is clear that adults made use of them, too — were essentially manuals (either religious, or more secular in outlook). Some were more theoretical, others practical; both were instructive and moral in content and tone. They were written either by parents, or by professional writers. In order to impart an air of authenticity to their work, some professional writers excused their creations with the claim that they had been asked to write them by others who valued their views. One such example was *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnestes gens* (1671), by Antoine de Courtin (1622-85), diplomat and moralist.[235] He enlarged it in 1672; it had been reprinted several times (sometimes anonymously) with addenda by 1750. In the early editions de Courtin asserted that his work was written at the request of a friend from Provence who needed guidelines for the upbringing of his son. In later editions this excuse was dispensed with. Other professional writers of manuals included religious writers such as Du Bosc, Nicole, Coustel and de La Salle, among others whose Christian morals were close to the practices which they professed. Several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French manuals such as *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684), written in a question and answer format, *La Civilité Puerile et honneste Pour l'instruction des Enfans* (?1757) by a missionary, *La Civilité Françoise pour l'instuction de la Jeunesse* (?1714), *Regles de la Bienseance ou de la Civilité moderne*, published in Strasbourg in both French and German (?1781), and others were published anonymously.

The second category of French texts on correct behaviour was for the initiation into society of scions of the nobility, and of those recently ennobled and introduced to urban life. These are less instructive in tone and form than the manuals (the readers were frequently of a higher social status than the authors, and Instructing anyone of the same status, let alone anyone of a higher status, contravened the rules of *civilité*). The model for such works in form of dialogue (i.e. conversations) was imported to France from Italy with Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528).[236] (It is

perhaps worth remembering that Alberti's 1434-1441 family book had been written in the form of a dialogue with several participants.[237]). Examples of French conversations like those supplied by *chevalier de Méré*[238], Madeleine de Scudéry,[239] the Abbé Morvan de Bellegarde,[240] and like the anonymous *L'Art de Plaire dans la Conversation* (1688) among others, were intended to make the reader privy to conversation as well as to the atmosphere which it created.

With social conversation a pastime in French noble circles some works were written entirely as model conversations, others incorporated sections of conversations, for instance novels. In either case readers were given some idea of the background and location in which the conversation took place, and of the participants. This was particularly significant when conversation shifted from polite social pastime to psychological explorations.

The new curiosity explored inner feelings rather than religious or philosophical contemplation and was expressed differently in books of manners and in novels. Manuals of manners dealt with the fundamental rules of appropriate behaviour for individuals in different circumstances (rather than earlier stereotypical heroes. Novels interwove scenarios, rules of behaviour, locations, dress, history and so on, to reveal the complex moods and feelings of the individual. In them the reader was not presented with theoretical principles; instead, the rules of behaviour were illustrated in practice.

Whatever their form, however, the invaluable and inevitable influence of such literary works on readers is clearly described in *Bibliotheque Françoise* (1664), by Sorel, who recommended them as "*...Livres qui enseignent à s'y comporter avec honneur, & garder toute sorte de bienseance.*"[241] In *Cours de Morale, a l'usage des Enfans* (1783), by the *comtesse de Genlis:* "*les ouvrages qui ont le plus influé sur les mœurs, ont tous une forme agréable et intéresente...Celui même qui ne veut ni se corriger, ni s'instruire lit ces ouvrages pour s'amuser, et en les lisant il se corrige et s'instruie malgré lui: voilà les livres véritablement utiles.*"[242] and in the subtitle of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses:* "*Lettres Recuillies dans une societé, et publiées pour l'instruction de quelques autres.*"

The attraction and indirect teaching in novels were treated with suspicion from their first appearance. *De la Connoissance des Bons Livres ou Examen de plusieurs Autheurs* (1671) reported that "*Les plus reformez se plaignoient autrefois des premiers Romans; l'Astrée*

sembloit fort criminelle...".[243] this was closely followed by "*Ces sortes de Livres sont remplis de sainteté au prix de ceux qu'on fait à cette heure...*".[244] Some, it seems, had considered that novels caused shocks, thus contravening *agrément.* But artistic licence, new forms of "realistic" expression, interest and time made such activities seem benign and thus acceptable by a subsequent generation.

Amitié

The pursuit of conversation between people of like minds was most conducive to exchanges of *amitié*, which expressed the thoughts and personal sentiments of individuals. The character of moderation governing *civilité* in polite society tempered the sentiment of *amitié* or *honnête amitié* which enriched and enlivened French literary works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The *marquise de Lambert* describes this sentiment in *Traité de l'Amitié* (1727): "*L'amour emporte avec soi toute la vivacité de l'amitié; C'est une passion turbulante; & l'amitié est un sentiment doux & réglé.*"[245] *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (1674) by Moreri has the following entries for the two terms: "*Amitié est cet amour de mutuelle bienveillance fondé sur la communication* " and "*Amour, ou Coupidon, est ce Dieu que les Anciens nous représentent si divertissement on sa naissance et en ses progrès...il fait quasi dans la vie civile, ce que l'arbre de vie du paradis terrestre promettoit dans la vie naturelle.* "[246] It is hard to tell whether the element of restraint embodied in *amitié* arose from religion, morals, loyalty, sentiment, reason or a combination which allowed for the separation of mind from matter, body from soul. In any event, the concept allowed for greater refinement, depth of feeling and serenity than the volatile, unreasoned, passion of *amour.* The *marquise de Lambert* (a widow) expressed the great store she set on *amitié*: "*Sans elle* [*amitié*], *la vie est sans charme: l'homme est plein de besoins; renvoyé à lui-même il sent un vuide que l'amitié seule est capable de remplir; toujours inquiet & toujours agité, il ne se calme, & ne se repose que dans l'amitié.. Quelle resource que l'azile de l'amitié! Par elle, vous échapez aux hommes qui sont presque tous trompeurs, faux, & inconstans...* ".[247] (Montaigne (1580) believed that: "*...Ce sexe* [*femmes*] *par nul example n'y est encore peu arriuer*".[248] In her advice to her son the *marquise de Lambert* writes: wrote: "*C'est elle* [*amitié*] *qui corrige les vices de la Société* ".[249] A more cynical view was held by François VI, Prince de Marcillac, *duc de La Rochefoucauld* (1613-1680): "*L'amitié la plus sainte et la plus sacrée n'est qu'un trafic où nous croyons toujours gagner quelque chose.*"[250]

Manuals for children

French manuals of manners for the education of children were based on, and influenced by, two works from two different cultures. The earlier of the two was *La Civilité Puerile* (1530) by Erasmus, who lived for several years in Paris, translated from the original Latin by Pierre Saliat as early as 1537. Erasmus's manual was extensively copied and adapted in France; in 1877 a new translation by Alcide Bonneau appeared. As the title indicated the work addressed children. Its tone was finite and informative and its subject was based on practice. It covered, in precise detail, instructions on the physical behaviour of a child, whether in company or alone. Where it touched on morals, this was generally with the possible offence which the child might cause to God or man by unacceptable physical activities.

The second work to influence French manuals of manners was: *Galateo overo de costumi* (1560) written in Latin and Italian by the Italian nobleman Giovanni della Casa Archbishop of Benevent. It was first translated into French in 1573 as *Le Galathee ou des fassons & manieres qu'un Gentil-homme doit tenir en toute compagnie.* A later French translator, Duhamel (16~~6~~6), advised the reader that in this work: "*M. de la Case, sous la personne d'un viellard sans lettres, instruit un jeune.*"[251] The work addressed the theory of the cultural and moral aspects of the child's behaviour in Society, rather than physical practice, and its tone was instructive. Both *La Civilité Puerile* and *Le Galatée* were written with no headings without any break throughout; like one endless paragraph.

The manuals written by the French tended to lean towards one source or the other, although they frequently integrated both. The recommendations of Sorel (1664 and 1671) include della Casa's *Du Galatée*, but no mention is made of Erasmus's *La Civilité Puerile.* Coustel (1687) is one of the few to mention Erasmus.

In keeping with urban culture, de Courtin's *Nouveau Traité de civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnestes gens* (1671; 1672), the French work in this genre more closely copied than any other, combined Erasmus's practicality (or practice) with della Casa's cultural approach (or theory). De Courtin's teachings went however beyond those of his forerunners, to note the complexity of human beings in their interactions and in regard to themselves (who now took inner and outer aspects). De Courtin started his inquiry (1672 edition & later) with: "*..en quoy*

consiste la civilité " to which he replied: "*La civilité dont nous pretendons donner icy, des regles, n'est que la modestie et l'honnesteté que chacun doit garder dans ses paroles et dans ses actions...*

"*...ce n'est pas aussi ce charme exterieur...comme le principe de la veritable politesse...*".[252] (*see also*, p 96) (the 1671 edition was of similar in content but unmethodical in structure[253]). The anonymous *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) also started with the fundamental question: "*Qu'est-ce que la civilité?* " and identifies it as "*...une maniere honneste de vivre les uns avec les autres, par laquelle nous rendons avec agrément a chacun dans les temps et les lieux ce qui luy est dû selon son âge, sa condition, son merite et sa reputation...Y a-t-il de la difference entre la civilité et l'honnesteté exterieure?...Il n'y on a point. C'est la mesme chose.*"[254] But the French inquiry into the nature of *civilité* was expressed earlier. Duhamel's 1666 translation of della Casa was titled *Le Galatée, ou l'Art de plaire dans la conversation* and in the preface Duhamel stated that he altered the Italian original to suit the French Nation of his own time. His first edition still appeared as a continuous text; by 1670 headings were placed within the text, and the first one after explaining the intentions of the book, reads: "*En quoy consiste la civilité* and it resolves that: "*...parce qu'elles ne consistent que dans les façons d'agir & dans les paroles a fin que vous puissiez devenir sçavant dans cet Art, vous devez reglez vos actions...ne fassiez pas tant ce qui vous est agreable, comme ce qui plaist à ceux qui vous voulez faire connoissance.*"[255] Bardin (1632), based on theoretical ancient sources starts with: "*En quoi consiste l'honestete*"(rather than *civilité*), leaving the impression that *civilité* as a concept came into common use only in the second half of the seventeenth century.

De Courtin (1672) does not acknowledge any antecedents to his work, but recommends other works by French writers. The first is advocated for a young child: "*...un excellent livre..L'Education Chretienne des Enfans, imprimé depuis quelques annés...*". The next two he proposes are for use at a more advanced age: *L'Education d'un Prince* which he believed to have been written by one of the two greatest geniuses of his century. His greatest regard, however, was reserved for *Traité de la Civilité Chretienne.* He saw his own work in conjunction with these: "*Car leur traités servent pour la Theorie & les principes generaux de la Civilité, & le nostre pour la pratique & le détail particulier de l'honneste bien-seance...*".[256] (it would nonetheless appear that his work was not strictly one of practice). Despite his failure to acknowledge anyone, nonetheless, in his second chapter: "La definition, les circumstances & les differentes especes de la civilité" he further qualified *civilité:* "*Les Ancient l'on definie une*

science qui enseigne à placer en son veritable lieu ce que nous avons à faire ou a dire." This was followed by four points which he believed needed to be closely observed: "*La 1. est de se composer chacun selon son âge & sa condition. La 2. de prendre garde toûjours à la qualité de la personne avec laquelle on traite. La 3. de bien obsever le temps. La 4. de regarder le lieu où l'on se rencontre.*"[257] His idea of *civilité* allowed, however, for some modifications: "*...cette politess dont vous me demandez des regles, n'est à mon avis, que la modestie & l'honnesteté que chacun doit garder selon sa condition...*",[258] and "*...comme la civilité vient essentiellement de la modestie, & la modestie de l'humilité, qui comme, les autres vertus sont appuyées sur des principes inébranlables; c'est une verité constante que quand l'usage changeroit, la civilité ne changeroit pas dans le fond...*".[259] That is to say, according to de Courtin, no absolute fixed rules could apply to *civilité.*

The significance of de Courtin's manual (1671) lies beyond his combination of the approaches of Erasmus and della Casa. He is noteworthy mainly for his clear, secular classification of human activities in general, and the interactions between individuals in particular. He differentiates methodically between the different possibilities of interaction between people: "*...il faut remarquer, que toute la conversation des hommes se passe, ou d'égal à l'égal, ou d'inferieur à superieur, ou de superieur à l'inférieur.*"[260] This classification is preceded by a statement to the effect that it is essential to distinguish *familiarité* from *bien-seance.* (Faret had written of "*De leur* [*honnestes gens*]*familiere conversation*" simply: "*Leur accez est si facile et si agreable, qu'il n'y a personne qui n'en desire la communication...*".[261]) "*Familiarité*", he says, is: "*...une liberté honneste, que les personnes qui parlent ou agissent ensemble prennent entre-elles, qui leur fait, par une certaine convention tacite & reciproque, prendre de bonne part ce qui les choqueroit estant pas à la rigueur.*"[262] That is, familiarity was permissible, within the rules of good behaviour, only between equals. Being familiar with everyone, irrespective of their social standing, eroded the boundaries within seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French society. This could shock, and so dispel *agrément.* The anonymous *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) states more explicitly that *familiarité* is only acceptable between equals, and uncivil between an inferior and a superior. To that end, a child should not *tutoyer* servants.[263] That is, future masters should not, while they were still dependents, fraternize with those who one day would be their inferiors.

Because de Courtin's manual was intended for the education of the young, as were other manuals, it is mainly devoted to guiding an inferior in his interaction with a superior. Only few pages are allocated to the interaction between a superior and an inferior and even here de Courtin appears to address young, inexperienced masters in their dealings with the poor and those less fortunate than themselves; this is followed by a short section on *bienséance* amongst equals.[264] De Courtin's *Nouveau Traité de la civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnestes gens* includes an individual who, with the ease of behaviour and speech advocated by Méré,[265] is able to behave and address people correctly whether they are his inferiors, equals or superiors.

Beyond these complex, forms of interaction or role-playing, de Courtin considered an additional awareness which also influenced later texts on education. He included the dimension of depth (not of a religious or philosophical, more of a psychological nature) to discuss a man who possessed inner and outer facets and the correct modes of behaviour in different situations. The imprint of de Courtin's classification is seen in *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) which could refer to *civilité* as *l'honnesteté exterieure.*

De Courtin expounded on this depth: "*...comme c'est fort peu de chose de plaire seulement aux yeux du corps, si nous n'avons en même temps le bon-heur de plaire aux yeux de l'ame nous devons aspirer à quelque chose de plus solide, qui marque la bonne disposition du dedans aussi-bien que la belle disposition du dehors.*" and further: "*...il faut distinguer aussi dans la personne l'exterieur de l'interieur; l'exterieur n'estant pas si sensible que l'interieur...*" (*see above*, p 94).[266] The awareness of depth combined with politeness is seen in de La Bruyère's *Les Caractères* (1687): "*La politesse n'inspire pas toujours la bonté, l'équité, la complaisance, la gratitude; elle en donne du moins les apparences, & fait paroître l'homme au dehors comme il devoit être intérieurement.*",[267] or in the *marquise de Lambert:* "*La politesse est une imitation de l'Honnêteté, & qui présente l'Homme au dehors, tel qu'il devroit être au dedans: elle se montre en tout, dans l'air, dans le langage & dans les actions.*"[268] Apart from instruction in appropriate forms of discourse, the manuals provided guidance on dress and action depending on status, sex, age, fashion and time.[269] (*see also* Chapters III & IV).

De Courtin went on to write *Suite de la Civilité Françoise ouTraité du Point d'Honneur et des*

Régles pour converser et se conduire sagement avec les Inccivils et les Fâcheux (1675), clearly for adults, in which beyond the utopia of good behaviour he dealt with the realities of life, based on the Judeo-Christian teachings and on Greek and Roman philosophers: "*...il ne suffit pas pour converser avec le monde d'être civil, honneste, obligeant, et bien-faisant envers ceux qui le sont...il faut encore sçavoir supporter les indignitez et les injures de ceux qui ne le sont pas, puis qu'elles sont inévitables dans le commerce de la vie civile.*
"*Il faut donc pour avoir la science du monde sçavoir vivre avec les incommodes, aussi bien qu'avec les honnestes gens.*"[270]

Many of the writers who followed de Courtin's formula of presenting man in charge of the roles he played, however, dealt with them in a more abstract fashion. Some considered the external facets, like Sylvestre du Four [pseudonym of Jacob Spon (1647-1685)] who told his son, in *Instruction Morale d'un Pere a son Fils* (1679) to: "*Ayez, du respect pour vos superieurs, de la deference pour vos égaux, & de l'honnêteté pour ceux qui sont au dessous de vous.*"[271] François de Callieres (1645-1717), member of the *Académie Françoise*, depicted the "*Portrait d'un Homme de merite*" in *De la science du Monde et des Connaissance utiles à la conduite de la Vie* (1717) where he describes the behaviour of a man towards others : "*Qu'il soit respectueux avec les superieurs, comlaisant & d'un commerce aisé & commode avec les égaux, caressant avec les inferieurs, doux, humain, d'un facile accès, civil & honnête avec tout le monde.*"[272] In her instruction to her son (1727), the *marquise de Lambert* (1727) combined attention to interactions with others, with regard for interaction with oneself: "*L'ordre des devoirs est de savoir vivre avec ses supérieurs, ses égaux, ses inférieurs, & soi-même. Avec ses supérieurs, savoir plaire sans bassesse; montrer de l'estime & de l'amitié à ses égaux; ne point faire senter le poids de la supériorité à ses inférieurs; conserver de la dignité avec soi même.*"[273]

The significance of these views, which began with those of de Courtin, lies in the clearly defined demarcation lines of the code of behaviour. It was the knowledge, awareness and observance of the boundaries of this code which allowed people of different status to coexist under one roof without shocking one another. Also, the construct of de Courtin and others which recognized the inner and outer aspects of man, heightened the perception of the individual as a being apart from the traditional feudal group. Man's individuality, enhanced by such writings, filtered into the consciousness of contemporary architects and house-owners, who by and by wanted greater

privacy for themselves within their *hôtels particuliers.*

Literary works for adults

Imparting the code of behaviour to adults in a philosophical fashion , covertly, through fiction, maxims, plays and so on, was considered acceptable and even welcomed. Instructing adults in what seemed an unsubtle and manipulative manner was frowned upon and even considered vulgar. François-Augustin Paradis de Moncrif (1687-1770), member of the *Académie Françoise*, is a case in point, he wrote a set of instructions. Paradis de Moncrif, of a good bourgeois family, was brought up by his mother who was of English extraction (his father died when he was young) and who encouraged him to adopt the name of his forebears Mon Creiff, and adapt it to Moncrif.[274] In the introduction to his *Essais sur la Necessité et sur les Moyens de Plaire* (1738) Paradis de Moncrif states: "*Ma principale vûe, dans la premiére Partie...a été de démêler les illusions, & particulièrement celles qui séduisent les gens d'esprit. J'expose ...la nécessité de plaire... moyens de profiter des avantages qu'elles nous présente...*

"*Dans la seconde Partie, en appliquant à l'education les principales que j'ai établis dans la premiére...*".[275] Amongst many pronouncements, he writes that: "*L'affectation, qui consiste dans l'imitation, vient quelquefois d'un sentiment louable, mais dont nous savons mal profiter.*"[276] Affectation was denigrated by all educationalists. Objection to Moncrif's kind of writing was voiced by Marc-René de Voyer, *marquis d'Argenson* (1652-1721), *lieutenant de Police de Paris* 1679, later held other State Offices, member of the *Académie Françoise:* "*...tout le monde a le désir de plaire; mais on se trouve bien embarrassé sur les moyens d'y parvenir. Il est même assez délicat d'indiquer les véritables; ils dépendent d'un grand nombre de circonstances qui les font varier, pour ainsi dire, à l'infini...il* [*Essais...*] *est d'ailleurs très-froidement écrit: aussi il est ennuyeux...* ".[277] While to take advantage of situations or profit from circumstances by pleasing others were not unheard of, to instruct adults overtly in these pursuits was unacceptable.

The education of French children could be rooted in *Civilité*, only after adults had been converted to it. *Civilité*, the principle behind the appropriate behaviour of the French nobility in their relations with one another and with others, was of Spanish or Italian origin and was reflected in the urbanity of French works for the education of adolescents and of adults.

Two years before the publication of Erasmus's manual (1530) and thirty-two years before the publication of della Casa's (1560), the Italian Balthasar Castiglione had published *The Courtier* (1528) which was first translated into French in 1537. Like the two aforementioned, *The Courtier* became a prototype for numerous French literary works on behaviour in polite society, but unlike them it addressed adults. Consequently *The Courtier* took a different literary form and differed drastically, in tone and subject, from children's manuals. It gave an insight to the social activity at the court of Urbino through fictional conversations between men and women of the Italian nobility. Its influence was acknowledged early in the seventeenth century by Guyon (1604) and Faret (1630), though neither used the form of conversation to convey their messages, which were instructive if not prescriptive in tone and in this sense belonged to an earlier era than *The Courtier.*

On the whole, however, French writers in this genre neglected to mention their debt to Italian antecedents. The growing interest in conversation, in the tradition of *The Courtier*, in which *salons littéraires* played a crucial role, encouraged the publication in conversational form. Some works consisted of samples of model conversations on subjects approved by the rules of *agrément.* These subjects needed to be wide enough to interest and attract diverse opinions without shocking or giving rise to conflicts. While neither *agrément* nor *civilité* allowed for opinionated or passionate views, the reader was led to discover for himself through examples of several views on the same subject (some of which might be opinionated), the forms of acceptable and unacceptable discourse. This method also demonstrated the atmosphere created when different views and attitudes were presented in *agrément* in conversations aimed at congenial discourse rather than the airing of brilliant views which would disrupt Harmony, or in the words of La Rochefoucauld: "*Il faut...ne laisser jamais croire qu'on prétend avoir plus de raison que les autres...*".[278]

Méré's *Les Conversations* (1668), an early French example of educational/cultural conversations between adults, in form resembled Castiglione's *The Courtier*, yet it was even closer to Stefano Guazzo's *La Conversation Civille* (1574; first translated into French in 1579 or earlier, and reprinted several times and recommended by Sorel.[279]), as, throughout, only two male participants took part. *L'Art de plaire dans la Conversation* (1688), published anonymously but reputed to be by Ortigue de Vaumorière, contained conversations in which men and women

participated, and though he did not acknowledge anyone, he mentioned "de la Caza" in his work.[280] Morvan de Bellegarde's *Modeles de Conversation* (1697) also followed Castiglione's general form of conversation.

Private conversation especially when it divulged emotion and personal detail, lent an air of "reality" to various types of French literary works in which it was incorporated. The public and private aspects of man were explored in diaries (for private use), in memoirs (whether for publication or not), in correspondences (whether for publication or not), in epistolary novels and novels written in the first person. In all these forms writers could focus on the expression of the personal experiences and feelings of various participants, giving some insight into their psychology.

The content of diaries or memoirs was not intended for the eyes of others. The reader could not get any closer to the private, inner thoughts and feelings of a person than through reading works of this nature, which sometimes took great risks by divulging political views. True diaries were not normally published, and certainly not in the writer's lifetime. The *Mémoires* of Saint-Simon for example, recorded from 1694 onwards, were first published in the late eighteenth century; the *Mémoires* of C-P. D'Albert, *duc de Luynes*, written 1735-58, were published for the first time, with the permission of the author's grandson, in 1860, after they were mentioned in the posthumously published *Mémoires* of Président Hénault in 1855.

If private diaries were reflections of the inner person, correspondences expressing the thoughts and feelings and discussing the private lives of the writers, were expositions of the interactions between writer and reader, who shared the "reality" of *amitié* or *amour*. Some of these, published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were fictional correspondences (at times with plots) from which the reader was expected to gain insight (and indirectly receive instruction). Placed as voyeurs of personal relationships between correspondents, readers were in some works further encouraged to imagine being the recipient of the correspondence and having personal *amitié* with the writers. This type of communication made use of what may be regarded as written eloquence or conversations expressed in writing, which otherwise might have been expressed directly, in speech (*see also* **Conversations**, pp 87-90).[231]

The published exchanges of actual letters include those of Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, *marquise de Sévigné* (1626-1696), written between 1646 and 1696 and published from 1725 onwards, the correspondence of the *duc de La Rochefoucauld* between 1637 and 1671 and of Elizabeth-Charlotte, *duchesse d'Orleans*, written between 1652 and 1722 and published posthumously.[282] Amongst the fictional correspondences were the four volumes of *L'Astrée*, the first published in 1610. (a fifth, from another hand, appeared after the author's death). This endlessly meandering epistolary novel incorporated other literary forms, such as madrigals and sonnets. In 1664 another epistolary work appeared: *Amitiez, Amours, & Amourettes*, by Réné Le Pays Sieur du Plessis-Villeneuve (1636-1690) who subsequently published similar works. Most of the letters in this work are ostensibly written by the author and include a variety of literary forms: *chansons*, madrigals, sonnets, *portraits*, dialogues. Some, however, take the form of. The success of "*Le Dialogue entre l'Amour et la Raison*" which was part of *Lettre XXXIII* was such that it was later published independently. Mlle de Scudéry also published correspondence as did Méré, who addressed most of his works to *Madame M***;* epistolary novels were published to the end of the period, with that of Laclos perhaps best known today.[283]

Much of the literary output in this genre was written exclusively to enlighten men or both men and women. It should be mentioned, however, that exceptional texts addressed women only. The earliest seventeenth century French example, *L'Honneste Femme* (1632), appeared two years after Faret's *L'Honneste Homme*. Like that of Faret, this work by the Franciscan Friar Jacques Du Bosc is an instructive work. Its tone, however, is much more patronizing than Faret's. Since women were not equal to men (in French law, their rights as dependents were in some respects like those of children) it is not surprising that a writer could set himself above women when giving them advice, in a way which would have been inconceivable were he addressing men. In the chapter "De la Science et de l'ignorance" Du Bosc writes: "*Vne femme sans esprit lors qu'elle est belle, est plus tost vn obiet de pitié que d'enuie & quand elle est laide c'est vn monstre effroyable qui fait horreur à tout le monde: parce que comme la beauté auec l'ignorãce ne se peut deffendre; aussi la laideur auec l'ignorance ne se peut souffrir...*".[284] He advises that: "*La lecture & la conference sont absolument necessaires pour rendre l'esprit & l'humeur aggreables...*".[285] Though his work was meant to encourage women to develop social graces through learning, his attitude was judgmental, offensive and lacked any encouragement. One might wonder whether he had not overstepped the boundaries of *agrément* in comments

and approach. From his later work, *La Femme Heroique* (1645), in which he stressed the equal heroism of women and men,[286] it is clear that he was still depicting "heroes", the concern of an earlier era. *Le Portrait d'une Femme Honnête, raisonnable & veritablement Chrêtienne* (1694), by the Abbé Goussault was also not in conversational form neither was his *Le Portrait d'un Honneste Homme* (1693). Other works of this nature were mainly written by men.

French *Belles-lettres*, in general, addressed and discussed adults, ignoring children. As siblings did not feature in novels and parents, when mentioned, were generally shown as distant and unreliable figures (i.e. there was no *amitié* between them and their children) a heightened sense of the person as individual was achieved. More distant relatives, however, particularly in the context of noble families, helped transmit the sense of continuity of the family or the house. Literary works tended to concentrate on the ancient nobility, the new nobility and the bourgeoisie, in which accepted rules of behaviour set the boundaries. One finds, therefore, that even where a peasant featured as "hero" of a literary work, as in Marivaux's *Le paysan parvenu*, the background described was not that of peasants, but of the middle and upper class into which the peasant managed to insinuate himself.

In the eighteenth century, first-person novels in which participants shared personal experiences with readers were added to the illusions created in French fictional conversations and letters, enlivened through "real" bonds of *amitié* with readers. These novels allowed for stories within stories, or spaces within spaces. With this method the author addressed his readers directly, allowing him to divulge personal thoughts and feelings, so creating a sense of "reality". In addition, participants address the reader directly. In epistolary novels this method was further exploited, when each letter-writer could open his heart and thoughts to the confidant with whom he- or she- shared an *amitié*. The reader shares in that particular *amitié* as well as having an overview of the whole situation. Thus each participant expressed views to the reader without necessarily ever revealing them to other participants. What one may gather from the forms of literary works in this period is that it began with vast, heroic, episodic novels, and concluded with the clear, "real" expression of the individual.

The changes of the view of man in literary works are paralleled with changes in behaviour. Under the earlier *courtoisie*, man was seen as an heroic, epic figure drawn with broad brushstrokes and described in episodic stories. With increased *civilité* the image of man required greater

refinement to convey the detail of his inner and outer being. This was conveyed directly to the reader by protagonists and included their psychological makeup and state.

IIIIIII

The client, who is of fundamental importance to the eventual solution of a building project, affected seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French residential buildings through his personal input to the design, his requirements and his status. The Classical Orders which came under the same category of restriction as other uses of ornamentation and luxury, were reserved for members of the highest echelons of the nobility and State administration. On the other hand the Orders expressed the character attributed to the owner. Any building project, including residential buildings, which failed to take into account of its client, failed its primary purpose.

To understand a building after it has been constructed and subsequently refashioned (at least internally) for different purposes, and particularly after its initial purpose no longer exists, both building and clients seem to require explanation. This seems especially so as the behaviour of clients and *hôtel* users followed ritual conventions rooted in a tradition which underwent some changes as clarified in de Courtin's 1671 treatise on *civilité.* Whereas the rules of behaviour and social intercourse in polite society in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paris were observed primarily by members of the nobility, these members of the society were also those who commissioned architects to build and alter their *hôtels particuliers*, and their rituals of behaviour in turn affected the manner of living and working in *hôtels.* An underlying aim was to facilitate in *hôtels* civilized, harmonious behaviour in appropriate settings.

Chapter III

HOTEL PARTICULIER : SETTING, FORM, SUBDIVISION & CIRCULATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will concentrate primarily on the functions of *hôtels particuliers*, buildings that were both lived in and worked in. The investigation will unfold in stages, starting with a broad, overall view, and focusing gradually on diminishing detail. Some indication of the geographical setting of the *hôtel* will thus be given first, then a description of its general form, followed by its division into *appartements* and finally, the smaller subdivision of individual spaces will be discussed. It will show that during the period changes in *hôtel* design towards smaller, more personal and intimate spaces — which replaced earlier, large multi-function spaces — were effected as a result of increased emphasis on the requirements of the individual; or in the words of le Camus de Mezières at the end of the period: "*...dans de trop grandes pieces l'homme se trouve disproportionné...*".[1] This investigation, based on contemporary sources, relies on the French interest in *distribution*, described at length in treatises of the time (*see* Chapter I pp 35-40), as a branch of architecture.

The use of the *hôtel* was complex from the start of the period. It had always catered for the dual functions of office and home; State or official seat, and residence of the Office holder's household. This duality embraced both the public, and private aspects, which, with time, became more marked as the physical separation between the two increased. As the physical division between the two grew, so did a second, social segregation. This brought about a deeper split within the old household, between masters of the house and their staff. The visible and experienced physical separation within an *hôtel*, which segregated members of the household from one another and from outsiders, was recognized through cultural appreciation of space. It was this kind of appreciation which Baxandall, with regard to paintings, terms cognitive style[2], and which Hanson and Hillier, with regard to space, term knowability of space.[3] These last arrived at the conclusion that human spatial organization has an internal logic clear to members of the society within which individual members recognize their own place. Though their investigation related to an understanding of urban layouts, there would appear to be every reason to assume that this kind of comprehension of space, and one's place in it, is equally valid for spaces within houses, and for those who inhabit them. This was particularly necessary for the

achievement of harmonious coexistence in the complex human and spatial relations of Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the seventeenth and eighteenth- centuries. Differences in status and modes of behaviour made their mark on the buildings themselves and on the forms of interaction between users of different ranks. And cultural appreciation of space made the uses of spaces in *hôtels* obvious to users. Some aspects of the complexity of social interaction between *hôtel* users will be described to make it easier to understand the reasons for the emergence of the complex physical arrangements in *hôtel*-buildings. (*see also* Chapter II)

Neither the original form of the *hôtel* nor its function exist any longer. One therefore needs to look at sources, to try to extract from them the forms of interaction that were well understood by those who entered the buildings in their different capacities. The sources consulted on both architecture and behaviour consist of published material.

Those born into the French nobility were trained from early childhood in the awareness of the role of the individual, his spatial requirements and his interactions with others and within *hôtels*. Yet, both they and new Office holders required the formal education propagated in manuals of manners or *civilité*, and more popularly in novels. These writings encouraged more sophisticated interaction between individuals, with marked differentiation between equals, superiors, inferiors, and the self.

To make the physical and social complexity of *hôtels* possible, a system of circulation was developed that would keep apart the different functions and users. This in turn increased the physical segregation between spaces and the social segregation between people. Yet, the intricacies of the complex planning within the *hôtel* did not usually appear in published works. As a result, such drawings were incompatible with the actual built or proposed *hôtels*. (*see* Chapter V).

This inquiry will consider the requirements of owners and users as prime motivators of the results arrived at. And these requirements will include the modes of behaviour prescribed at the time. The accepted, Academic, aspect of architecture, however, especially as described in treatises, will be considered another contributive factor in the resolution of *hôtel* forms. A harmony, balance, or merger of the polarities represented by these contributive factors (requirements;

rules of behaviour; rules of architecture) was addressed throughout the period, as each *hôtel* emerged — some resolutions were more successful then others. Alterations to existing, older buildings indicated changes in physical and behavioural requirements and changed views on architecture. While it is impossible, from this distance in time, to ascertain such changes from the buildings themselves, opinions specifically voiced in treatises will be considered as evidence of such changes. These alterations will be regarded as the steps taken to maintain harmony between changed views of requirements, of rules of behaviour or *civilité* and of architectural rules at any particular time.

The aspect of usability or comfort will set the limit for this investigation of the *hôtel* and its subdivisions. Means of circulation, use of rooms, and the introduction of such improvements as plumbing will be viewed as significant factors in the process of the requirements through time. Technical advances and improvements which satisfied the needs of users were also proclaimed in royal pronouncements. Matters such as the Orders of architecture and decoration, both external and internal (especially in public rooms) will be considered only incidentally in this study.

The Harmony of the form of the *hôtel*, based on the merging of such unrelated elements as users' requirements (*commodité*) and rules of behaviour (*civilité*) of those who used them, together with the rules of architecture, is what this chapter sets out to explain.

PRECEPTS OF ARCHITECTURE WHICH AFFECTED *HOTEL* DESIGN

The five precepts of Vitruvian architecture, *Ordonnance; Disposition; Eurythmie ou Proportion; Bienseance;* and *Distribution*, first appeared in Book I, Chapter II, headed in Perrault's translation (1684 edition): "*En Quoy Consiste l'Architecture*". Of these, *Ordonnance, Disposition* , and *Distribution* will be considered more closely in this chapter. It cannot be stressed often enough, however, that the meaning of these terms was fluid and open to interpretation or, in Perrault's words: "*...C'est en partie pour cette raison que j'ay toujours empoyé le mot d'Œconomie dans les notes où il a esté necessaire de comparer les parties d'architectue les unes avec les autres; en partie aussi pour éviter la confusion qui auroit pû estre causée par le peu de distinction que les Idées d'Ordonnance de Distribution & de Distribution ont ordinairement dans nostre esprit.*"[4] Nonetheless, these precepts had a great impact on the the increasingly Classical teaching of architecture in France after the appearance of Perrault's

translation, as his 1684 annotated edition became the official text used by the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* for teaching purposes. As teaching at the *Académie* was open to students, practitioners and to amateurs, and since the amateurs would include those who were likely to commission and inhabit *hôtels*, its influence extended to both producers and users of *hôtels.*

Perrault interprets these three Vitruvian precepts as: *Ordonnance*, the correct dimensioning of rooms, courtyards and so on, for the use designated to them, or in Perrault's words "*l'Ordonnance d'un bâtiment...est quand la cour, la salle et les chambres ne sont ny trop grands, ny trop petites pour servir aux usages ausquels elles sont destinées...*";[5] *Disposition*, the appropriate location of parts (within the whole), according to the nature of their use, or "*La Disposition est l'arrangement convenable de toutes parties, ensorte qu'elles soient placées selon la qualité de chacune.*"[6]; and "*Distribution,qui en Grec est appellée Œconomia*"[7] which was treated by Vitruvius, (in Perrault's view), as two separate aspects. One of these aspects covered financial concerns: "*...l'égard que l'Architecte a aux materiaux qu'il peut aisément recouvrer, et à l'argent que celuy qui fait bastir, veut employer, qui sont des choses qui appartiennent à l'Œconomie.*"[8] The other, related to the usage of the building, and the status of those who were to inhabit it, was not in Perrault's opinion related to finance, but to correctness or appropriateness of composition: "*...l'égard qu'il faut avoir à l'usage et à la condition de ceux qui y doivent loger, ce qui semble n'avoir aucun rapport à l'Œconomie, mais plustost à la Bienseance*".[9]

D'Aviler's (1691 & later) explanations of these (French, rather than Greek) terms, as they appeared in his *Dictionnaire*, reads: "*Ordonnance, ce dit en architecture, comme en peinture, de la composition d'un bâtiment, et de la disposition de ses parties. Latin* ordinatio *&* compositio ". "*Disposition, c'est l'arrangement des parties d'un Edifice par rapport au tout ensemble.*" and "*Distribution de plan, c'est la division des pieces qui composent le* plan *d'un bastiment, et qui sont situées et proportionnées à leur usage...C'est que Vitruve nomme* Ordinatio."[10] Of d'Aviler's interpretation of the last precept (*distribution*), it is worth noting that J-F. Blondel's explanation of the term *convenance*, (1752-6) reads almost identically: "*Pour que l'esprit de la convenance régne dans un plan, il faut que chaque piece soit située selon son usage et suivant la nature de l'édifice, et qu'elle ait une forme et une proportion relative a sa destination...*".[11] In the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65),*convenance*, however, appeared as a different

way of expressing *bienseance*, which would seem closer to Perrault's second interpretation of the term *distribution*, as quoted above. *Convenance* will be considered in the next chapter. Also, although it is not strictly relevant to this study, it nonetheless seems useful to include Palladio's exposition of the term *disposition* in relation to rooms of all types within a patrician's house: "... for as in the human body there are some noble and beautiful parts, and some rather ignoble and disagreeable, and yet we see that those stand in very great need of these, and without them they cou'd not subsist; so in fabricks, there ought to be some parts considrable and honoured, and some less elegant; without which the other cou'd not remain free, and so consequently wou'd lose part of their dignity and beauty".[12] The crucial importance of subsidiary spaces within the organism of the house, clearly spelt out in this description, will be the focus of my study, as the magnificent parts of such houses have frequently been studied.

Distribution

The term *distribution*, which had been reinterpreted with a new significance in French architecture — elaborated upon in treatises — by the eighteenth century, is considered in Courtonne's *Traité de la Perspective* (1725), a branch of architecture the domain of the French: "*...nos François ont poussé la distribution jusqu'à un point qui les met fort au-dessus des autres Nations...Nous avons en France aussi bien qu'en Italie, des Palais ou hôtels faits dans les siecles précedants, dans l'exterieur desquels on voit regner une assez belle architecture, pendant que la distribution des dedans n'a rien y répondre: on n'y trouve nulles commoditez...*".[13] This new interpretation of *distribution*, which incorporated the idea of *commodité*, or the physical comfort and convenience of users, is again expressed by Boffrand (1745): "*La distribution regle l'étendue d'une maison: elle doit être proportionnée au nombre des personnes qui doivent s'y rendre, ou habiter...Cette partie d'Architecture a pour objet la commodité du maître de la maîson...Les chambres doivent être ornées et meublées par rapport à leur usage et à la gradation qui doît se trouver des chambres occupées par les domestiques à celles du maître.*"[14] J-F. Blondel, in an entry on *distribution* in the *Encyclopédie*, mentioned among others, an opinion very similar to that of Boffrand.[15] In the same article, however, Blondel added that "*...quoi que l'on puisse dire en faisant éloge des Architectes françois, que la Distribution en France est poussée au plus haut dégré de perfection, il n'en est pas moins vrai, qu'il est difficile de donner des preceptes précis sur cette partie de l'Architecture...*", and further, that "*...nos jeunes Arcitectes, accoûtumés à imiter indistinctement le beau ainsi que le médiocre*

dans leur art...croyent qu'à la faveur de quelques formes ingenieuses, les commodités, les dégagements, les enfilades, et la symmétrie peuvent être sacrifiés." From which one can deduce that despite his difficulty in elucidating the essence of *distribution*, J-F. Blondel considered that it embodied the elements of: *commodité, dégagement, enfilade,* and *symmétrie*. If his opinion of young architects, could be deemed harsh, he nonetheless asserted the novelty of *distribution* which they handled: "*Cette seconde branche d'architecture* [*distribution*], *est devenue un art nouveau...On est convaincu de cette vérité, lorsque l'on compare la commodité actuelle de nos maisons, avec celle des bâtiments des premiers siecles, et même de ceux qui ont été élevés depuis François Premier. L'êpoque de ce changement est due à Hardouin Mansard, qui, le permier, dans le Château de Clagni, commança à combiner la relation que doit avoir la beauté des dehors avec la commodité des dedans. Dequis lui, les Artistes se sont encore surpassés; et l'on peut dire qu'à cet égard, l'Architecture est aujourd'hui à son comble.*"[16]

It is the concern of *distribution* with *Commodité, Dégagement,* and *Enfilade* in *hôtels particuliers*, that will be considered in this chapter (*symmétrie* is considered in the next chapter). It will deal with the improved means of circulation within the *hôtel*, as well as with a move towards greater convenience in the location and sizes of rooms, within a scheme. These changes took time to evolve, or as J-F. Blondel put it: "*...la commodité si présieuse. Ses progrès n'ont pas été rapides. Les Lescot et Les Mansard ingnorerent ces trésors du goût répandus aujoud'hui dans l'intérieur de nos maisons.*"[17] Yet the notions of *distribution* and *commodité* extended to the practical, as expressed by d'Aviler (1710-1760): "*La distribution de ces petites lieux* [kitchen area] *procure une infinité de commodité qu'on ne connoissoit pas autrefois....*", and the novelty to which he alluded was: "*...la plus grande commodité qu'on puisse désirer, c'est d'y avoir de l'eau en abondance, soit par les tuyaux venans des réservoirs, soit au défaut, par la proximité d'un puits placé dans l'une des ses encoignures.*"[18]

IIIIIII

GENERAL SETTING

Whereas works on the great projects in the capital, including the Louvre, had already started by

the time of François I (1515-1547),[19] large scale construction of Parisian *hôtels particuliers* for the nobility and the clergy[20] began only under the Bourbon monarchy, after Henri IV had conquered Paris and turned it into the major royal residence and the seat of power. The monarchy and the State became increasingly centralised. This concentration of power was personified in the figure of Louis XIV, in whose time it was at its greatest.

The Office of *Grand Voyer de France*, which regulated and policed town-planning in Paris and incorporated such issues as roads and their paving (*pavé*) , buildings standing along roads and so on, was established by Henri IV, in May 1599. The royal pronouncement read: "*...Nos prédécesseurs rois, considérent les entrepises et usurpations qui se font sur les voyes et ruës publiques des villes, au grand préjudice du public, et incommodité des passans; pour faire cesser telles voyes, avaient fait plusieurs édits contestans le réglement qu'ils avaient connu estre nécessaire pour observation d'iceux, estably dans notre ville de Paris, capitale de ce royaume, un voyer, ayant entr'autres choses, le pouvoir d'avoir l'œil ausdites voyes et passages, les conserver en leurs espaces, grandeurs et largeurs; visiter les bastimens estans sur les ruës et voyes; alligner les bastimens nouveaux, et toutes autres fonctions qu'en dépendent...*".[21] The streets of Paris, according to Isambert et al., began to be paved in 1184. Paving became part of the responsibility of the *grand voyer* from 1600,[22] but his Office was suspended in 1626, when its powers were passed on to the *Trésoriers de France* by an edict of Louis XIII.[23] Throughout the period, declarations were issued concerning this authority, including the cleaning of streets, and the removal of all obstructions from them. This last was addressed not for reasons of hygiene, but as a measure of safety for citizens in the ease of passage through the streets.[24]

The Office of *Intendant de Justice et Police* in the *Ile de France* was first held by Geoffroy Luillier in 1633, under Louis XIII.[25] The *Ordonnance du Lieutenent civil sur la police général de Paris* was issued in 1635.[26] The *Lettre Patente* that established the post of *Intendant des fontaines publiques* appeared in 1623.[27] Royal Declarations on public lighting in the streets of Paris appeared from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, and were on occasion tied to the cleaning of streets.[28] This again, could be regarded as a measure for the security of those using the streets.

Axonometric plans of Paris drawn between 1575 (*Plan de François de Belleforest*) and 1734-9 (*Plan de Louis Bretez* known as *Plan de Turgot*)[29] provide bird's eye, or partial views of a city whose appearance was evolving gradually, and had changed completely by the end of the period. In the earlier plans one can still see a mediaeval city with Gothic features. The majority of the buildings were still oblong, with pitched roofs, some with their gable-ends facing the road, others with their eaves. At ground level all buildings terminated directly at the road boundary (i.e. there were no pavements or gardens along the public thoroughfare). The alignment of houses and their upper floors oversailling into the public way were contentious issues addressed by numerous edicts of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[30] D'Aviler, in his *Dictionnaire* (1691 & later), referred to this matter "*Les saillies sur les Voyes publiques, sont reglées par les Ordonnances.*"[31] In the later axonometric views of Paris, a new city can be seen gradually emerging with an increased number of buildings incorporating Classical features.

The town plans, whether axonometric or not, also show the change of Paris which started as a small walled city and underwent increased building works, expansion and urban sprawl. J-F. Blondel (1752-56) noted that at the beginning of the reign of Henri IV large areas within the walls of Paris were cultivated fields, meadows, gardens and marshes. During this king's reign extensive building works were undertaken on land that had never been built on previously.[32] In his posthumous publication, *Histoire de la Ville de Paris* (1725), the French historian Michel Félibien (1666-1719) described the state of Paris when Henri IV entered it: "*Il y estoit resté, depuis l'enceinte faite cinq cent ans auparavant par ordre de Philippe Auguste, plusieurs places vagues & inhabituées. On y voyoit encore les moulins à vent, des prez, des vignes, & des terres labourables. La butte de S. Roch, qui n'estoit autre chose qu'un amas de gravois & de terres tirées des anciens fossez, estoit couverte de moulins. L'ile Notre Dame n'estoit encore q'une prairie...*".[33] He attributed the subsequent splendour of Paris to the interest in the arts of Henri IV and his two successors, to their zeal for their capital, to the good policing established there, as well as to the good building materials available there.[34] Building was undertaken in the Marais, a marsh ordered to be dried out in royal edicts of January 1607 and August 1613.[35] A *Lettre Patente* for the completion of the city wall of Paris, encompassing the Faubourgs Saint-Honore, Montmartre and Villeneuve, was issued in 1633.[36] A *Lettre patente* that described the continuation of the new fortification of the Quartier Saint-Germain was issued in 1715,[37] and

there were also later walls. In *Dialogue ou Entretiens des Femmes Scavantes* (1709), by A.Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantome (Pseud. of an unknown), Emilie says of Paris: "*Premierement, Paris est tout changé depuis quinze ans. Les ruës sont élargies dans certains quartiers, les portes antiques abatuës, des places nouvelles ornées de magnifiques bâtimens qui rendent cette superbe Ville le plus délicieux séjour de l'univers.*"[38]

Urban sprawl led to the relocation of the city wall northwards, while the sprawl to the south and west continued unabated, despite royal declarations forbidding construction outside the city wall. These ranged from that of 1627: "*Il est défendu de bâtir aux environs de Paris*", to that of 1789: "*On ne peut pas bâtir à moins de cinquante toises de distance du mur de clôture de Paris*", and included, in between, declarations defining the limits of Paris (two in 1728 alone).[39] From the frequent repetition of this kind of royal pronouncement, in conjunction with the actual facts on the ground, gleaned from contemporary plans of Paris, it is clear that these royal decrees were not heeded. The illegal expansion led to continual enlargement of the city, and to subsequent relocations of the city walls shown in the *Plan général des Clotures Anciennes et Modernes de la Ville de Paris*, published by N. Maire in 1813 (fig. 6). The fifth enclosure of Paris was formed in 1566, the sixth in 1672 and the seventh and last in 1786.

The early enclosures of the city consisted of walls and moats. The preplanned 1672 enclosure was formed by straight stretches of tree-lined boulevards that joined at intervals in order to surround the city which was expanding in all directions. The 1786 enclosure increased the area of Paris, immeasurably. When Arthur Young, Fellow of the Royal Society, reported on his 1787 tour of Paris, he wrote: "It is a vast city, even to the eye that has seen London from St. Paul's; being circular, gives an advantage to Paris; but a much greater is the atmosphere...".[40] His enthusiasm of the view waned somewhat when he described Paris from a closer perspective: "The streets are very narrow, and many of them crowded, nine tenths dirty, and all without foot-pavements. Walking, which in London is so pleasant and so clean, that ladies do it every day, is here a toil and a fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well dressed woman...[I] have been myself many times blackened with mud from the kennels...".[41]

Urban hygiene

The lack of cesspools and latrines within the city of Paris brought its streets, which were used

instead, to a deplorable state, so that no part of the city was spared the frightful stench. And further, no part of the city was safe to walk in, as crossroads and main streets were filled with smelly refuse. Corners of public buildings such as the law courts, and even the Louvre itself, presented an abhorrent sight: in courtyards, on stairs, balconies, and behind doors, visitors relieved themselves. Complaints were recorded by visitors to Versailles where, until the regency, not enough toilets had been installed. Here too, corridors, passages, small stairs and internal courtyards were used instead. According to D'Hezecques, author of *Souvenirs d'un page* (1873), under Louis XVI there was only a single *cabinet d'aissances, construit a l'anglaise*, at Versailles, and this was for the exclusive use of *leurs Majestés*.[42] Edicts were issued to prevent soiling and disfiguring the royal residences.

In order to improve this deplorable situation in the city, the *Lieutenant de Police* Gabriel-Nicolas De La Reynie demanded in 1668 that all proprietors construct latrines in their houses within one month, or be faced with a fine of 200 *Livres*.[43] This fine could not have been too effective as twenty years later, in 1688, the *surintendant du Châtelet* declared that there were houses in most quartiers of Paris, whose proprietors failed to provide cesspools and latrines, even when each building housed some twenty or twenty-five families.[44] With the publication of the Paris Building Acts of 1748, the proprietors of houses were obliged to comply with regulations that ensured that the number of latrines on their premises related to the number of residents. They had been published as Desgodets's public lectures at the *Académie Royal d'Architecture* between 1719 and 1728, and indicated that: "*1. Cet Article...est établi pour l'intérêt public, tant pour la commodité de ceux qui habitent les Maisons, que pour la netteté des rues, et pour empêcher que les excrémes n'infectent l'air...2. Les Latrine ou fosses d'aisances doivent être de grandeur proportionnée à la grandeur des maisons et à la quantité des personnes qui les habitent, pour n'être pas vuidées si souvent, afin de moins incommoder le voisinage...*".[45]

But no satisfactory solution can have been reached for removing the soil-waste from houses, as Le Camus de Mezières put forward his own solution as late as 1781. First he noted the possibility of accidents when drains were opened, and emitting poisonous vapours choking anyone present. Academicians specialized in chemistry, like Lavoisier and Cadet had just invented a means of easing the suffering caused by these vapours. But de Mezières believed that no remedy would be needed if the damage could be avoided in the first place. His simple

solution was not to construct a drain at all, thus doing away with inconvenience and making financial savings as well. Each house was to have a reinforcement on the ground floor in which a soil-tub would be placed. The soil-tub would be removed in the early morning, and replaced by another. The frequency at which it needed to be changed would depend on the size of the house, and the number of its users. He even considered that the management company handling the collection of these tubs would have to be appointed by a magistrate. A bend in the opening of pipe leading to his tub was to stop the emission of fumes.[46]

It should be mentioned in this connection that in 1683 the Sanitary Police issued a regulation on the precautions to be taken to prevent the introduction of the *peste.* [47] Tallemant de Réaux mentions in his *Historiettes* that one of the sons of the *marquise de Rambouillet* died of the *peste* in 1631, at the age of eight.[48] The 1960 edition of the *Historiettes* notes that the *Gazette* confirmed an epidemic of the *peste* in Paris, in that year.[49] The exact nature of this epidemic disease which spread through Paris is not absolutely certain. Also, with regard to smallpox, E-J-F. Barbier, *Avocat au Parlement de Paris*, writes that inoculations were given in France from 1727, but that they met with great opposition until 1758. It was the work of de La Condamine which dispelled much of the fear of these inoculations. [50] The paper which the *chevalier de La Condamine*, member of the *Académie royale des sciences*, delivered in 1754 remarked: "*Peu de familles echappent au tribut fatal qu'elle exige. C'est surtout dans les Villes, et dans les Cours les plus brillantes qu'on la voit exercer ses ravages.*"[51]

According to Le Camus de Mezières (1781), most of the soil in Paris was foul to a certain depth because of old cesspools and drains which had been in use for several centuries: "*Quartiers des halles, celui de la Cité, et tous les endroits bas, ont leur terrains pénétrés de matieres infestes*". He also queried the quality of spring water emanating from such soil, and the implications: "*Les Boulangers, les Pâtissiers &c. s'en servent la plupart. Le pain qu'on en peut faire n'est-il pas dangereux pour la santé?...*".[52]

The Office of *Commissaire général et surintendant des coches et carrosses publiques* was established as early as 1594.[53] But the problems of walking in the dirty streets of Paris were addressed, alleviated or circumvented only with the 1650 *Règlement pour l'établissement de carosses de louage dans Paris et aux environs*,[54] and further, by the *Règlement pour*

l'établissement des carosses et voiture dans les rues de Paris, in 1657 and the *Etablissement à Paris de carrosses à cinq sous la place*, in 1661.[55]

The *nouveau traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684), asks which are the most desirable seats in a carriage and answered that "*Il y a dans un carrosse deux fonds. Le premier s'appelle le fond de derriere & le second s'appelle le fond de devant. Il y a ordinairement deux places dans chaque fond. La premiere est à droite, & la seconde, est à gauche. S'il y en a trois, la premiere est à droite la seconde est à gauche, la troisiéme au milieu.*"[56] It also added that the last person into a carriage was to be first out.

Antoine de Courtin (1672) suggests that when one walked in the street with a person to whom one owed respect, that person should walk on the higher ground. When three people promenaded, the place at the centre should be considered the most honoured. In second place came the one to the right, whilst the position to the left remained for the person of least standing. When, however, people of equal rank walked together, the middle position could be alternated between them.[57] De La Salle's *Les Regles de la Bienscéance et de la Civilité Chretienne* (1703 & later editions) written to instruct on Christian moral rules is more explicit with regard to the meaning of the higher ground in the street: "*Quand on est dans la rue, il faut placer la personne que l'on respecte du côté des maisons, lorsque le suiseau* (gutter) *se trouve au milieu de la rue, & s'il s'en trouve d'eau il faut donner la droite.*" When walking with ladies, a man would always let them have the right side, and walk at their pace.[58] And generally: "*...lorsqu'on marche dans les ruës...ne le faire ni trop lentement, ni trop vite...*".[59] The 1774 edition was more explicit: "*Il ne faut jamais courir dans les rues...*", and it was thoughtless "*...de regarder sans cesse de côté & d'autre, en marchant, d'examiner à chaque pas ce qu'on voit...*".[60]

La Civilité Puerile et Honneste (1757) by an anonymous missionary, said of a child's proper behaviour when in the street: "*C'est contre la civilité de manger par les rue...*".[61] De La Salle's (1774) says that "*C'est une étourderie et un manque de savoir vivre d'appeller quelqu'un dans les rues; ou par une fenêtre, ou au bas d'un escalier.*"[62]

The system of *Paulette*, created during the reign of Henri IV, imparted titles and privileges to holders of venal Offices in the magistrature and the police. Under Louis XIV the practice was

extended to financiers, municipal officials and others.[63] Members of this new official administration, some of whom were ennobled, wanted accommodation commensurate with their newly acquired posts and status. Noblemen of various ranks built residences in Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such clients, J-F. Blondel believed, sought to outdo their neighbours, thus advertising and glorifying their own status with the aid of the creations of architects.[64]

Hôtel de Rambouillet

The Hôtel de Rambouillet is a renowned instant of a noble client's involvement in the design of the house she owned. This case is documented in several places and is of particular interest to this study. Apart from having founded her *salon littéraire*, the first in Paris,[65] (*see* Chapter II, pp 77-8) the *marquise de Rambouillet* was known for innovations in the field of architecture. These were attributed to her through her involvement in the design (or redesign) of her new house, the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*. She seems to have opened its doors to fashionable society from 1612 onwards, even though it was still under construction.[66] The following were reputed to have been her innovations: 1. The replacement of square windows, hall mark of Renaissance, with tall windows from floor to ceiling; 2. The repositioning of the main stairs from the centre to one end of the building; 3. A changed layout due to 2., with the doorways of main rooms on the first floor arranged *en enfilade*; 4. The new form of the main stairs created a continuous, slightly curved, single swept ramp that ended on the first floor; 5. The legendary *grande chambre Bleue* heralded change in interior decoration, with its use of blue, rather than the traditional red or brown wall covering; 6. The well-lit *grand cabinet* with its three windows, each placed in a different wall, facing in three directions. This last work was done with no interruption to the general use of the *hôtel* ; and 7. Introducing in France the Spanish practice of building rooms *à l'alcove*.[67]

The respect in which she was held, in this field, is implicit in this excerpt of Voiture's letter to the *marquise:*

> "*Mme,*
>
> "*...; à vous Mme, qui excellez sur toute autre, en cette partie de l'ame qui fait les Peintres, les Architectes et les statuaires, et qui la défendez par votre example, de blâme que l'on lui donne, de ne se trouver jamais en émunence avec un parfait jugement...*"[68]

as well as in his verse: "...

"Artenice où je contemple
Tant de miracles divers,
Les autres ont eu des vers,
Mais à vous il faut un Temple,
Il sera fait dans un an,
Et j'en ay desja le plan."[69]

Another frequenter of the *marquise's salon littéraire*, Mademoiselle de Scudéry, described the *Hôtel de Rambouillet* or the *Palais d'Arthenice* under the guise of the *Palais de Cleomire* in her then highly popular *Le Grand Cyrus* (1653): "*...elle a fait faire vn Palais de son Dessein, qui est vn des mieux entendus du monde: et elle a trouué l'art de faire faire en vne place d'vne médiocre grandeur, vn Palais d'vne vaste estenduë. L'ordre, la regularité, et la propreté, sont dans tous ses Appartemens, & à tous ses meubles: tout est magnifique chez elle & mesme particulier: Les lampes y sont differentes des autres lieux: Ses Cabinets sont pleins de mille raretez, qui font voir le iugement de celle qui les a choisies: l'air est toujours parfumé dans son Palais: diuerses Corbeilles magnifiques pleines de fleurs, font vn Printemps continuel dans sa Chambre: et le lieu où on la voit d'ordinaire est si agreable et si bien imaginé, qu'on croit estre dans vn enchantement lors qu'on y est aupres d'elle...*". She also writes that: "*...il n'est pas iusques aux excellens Artisans, qui ne veüillent que leurs Ouurages ayent la gloire d'auoir son approbation...*".[70] According to Sauval it was to Cleomire or the *marquise de Rambouillet* that architects were indebted for the new, embellished stair form, and for the enfilade.[71]

Despite the high esteem in which the *marquise*, her *salon littéraire* and her house were held, the history of the house seems to be shrouded in confusion due to conflicting information from diverse sources, some imbued with more veneration than fact. R. Picard, in *Les Salons Littéraire et la Société Française 1610-1789*, suggests that from approximately 1618 until her death in 1665, the *marquise* continued to embellish and enlarge her *Hôtel*, which was constructed in brick and stone in the manner of the Place Royale (now the place des Vosges).[72] Or, as Hautecœur put it, in the materials which Jean Androuet Du Cerceau had made use of in sumptuous buildings.[73]

One version of the history of the Hôtel de Rambouillet has it that once her father Jean de Vivonne, *marquis de Pisani* had died, the *marquise de Rambouillet* rebuilt his *hôtel* and moved there with her family, from which time onwards it was known as the Hôtel de Rambouillet. It had been known until then as the Hôtel de Pisani, d'O, and de Noirmoutier.[74] Then there was Gédéon Tallemant de Réaux's version, included in his *Historiettes* (written between 1657 and 1659, but first published in 1834). Tallemant de Réaux (1619-92) was related to the extensive Rambouillet family. His mother was born Marie de Rambouillet, and he married Elisabeth, the daughter of his cousin Nicolas de Rambouillet, in 1646, when she was thirteen years old. Tallemant frequented and contributed to the literary activities of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, which he described before it was altered (i.e. before hisown birth): "*...hostel de Rambouillet, qui estoit la maison de son* [the *marquise's*] *pere...*", and further that it dated from the time of the *Maréchal d'Ancre*, when it was customary to have a *salle* on one side and a *chambre* on the other, with stairs in the centre; and moreover, its site was of a highly irregular shape, and fairly small.[75]

There was, however, another version of its history, advanced by *vicomte Brémond d'Ars* (1884), the *marquis de Pisani's* historian, some of whose views were corroborated by the magistrate Charles-Jacques Sauzé de L'Houmeau, who published *Inventaires de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet a Paris, en 1652, 1666 & 1671* (1894). Brémond d'Ars stated that Catherine de Vivonne had bought the old Hôtel du Halde, in the *rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre* in 1599, and that after much difficulty the building was finally hers in 1604. She then had the buildings demolished, and built the new Hôtel de Rambouillet on the site. On the other hand, according to a contract to which d'Ars referred, her father, the *marquis de Pisani* and his wife were living at *16 rue Plâtrière* in 1599, the year he died. Brémond d'Ars stated further that the young couple had abandoned the old Hôtel de Rambouillet which was sold in 1606, and which had been situated where the Palais Royal is at present.[76] L. Hautecœur (1943-1952) advanced the theory that the old Hôtel de Rambouillet, or d'Angennes (the *marquis de Rambouillet* was from the house of Angennes[77]), which the *marquise* had abandoned in 1616, was bought by Richelieu when the latter also acquired some adjoining properties, all of which he had had demolished in 1624 in order to build his own *hôtel*.[78]

Brémond d'Ars who, after examining the documentation found the accepted version questionable, tentatively put forward his own. He suggested that once the old *marquis de*

Pisani had died, Charles d'Angennes, who had not yet succeeded to the title of *marquis de Rambouillet*, took the title of *marquis de Pisani*, which was legally his through the inheritance of his wife. Consequently the house which Catherine de Vivonne had bought and inhabited after the death of her father would have been called the Hôtel de Pisani until such time as Charles d'Angennes succeeded to his own rightful title, at which time the *hôtel* became the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Despite the documentary evidence, Brémond d'Ars expressed some hesitation in contradicting such earlier authorities on the subject as Roederer, Tallemant de Réaux, Laborde and others.[79]

Another researcher who refuted earlier authorities on the subject was the *Historiographe de la Ville de Paris* Adolphe Berty, in *Histoire Général de Paris ; Topographie historique du Vieux Paris* (1866). Berty also produced, independently, a reconstruction plan of land-ownership in Paris, in sixteen parts: *Plan Archaéologique du XIIIe au XVIIe Siècle* (1850-67), the section covering the Louvre included the site of the Hôtel de Rambouillet (fig. 7). The names of the houses on these lands reflected the land-ownership. Berty records that the Hôtel Pisany et de Rambouillet was situated on two distinct properties. One had been a garden which in the fifteenth century belonged to one *Jehan d'Oc*. Berty believed that the name of this man was the source of the mistaken idea that Hôtel de Rambouillet was situated where an earlier Hôtel d'O had stood. The second property was a *granche*.[80] He also explained the later names of the house. Since her sons had died the *hôtel* passed to the *marquise's* daughter Julie d'Angennes, who in 1643 married Charles de Sainte-Maure, *duc de Montausier*, and consequently the house was renamed the Hôtel de Montausier. It was subsequently passed on to Julie's only daughter, Julie de Sainte-Maure, who in 1664 married Emmanuel II, *comte de Crussol*, the son of the *duc d'Uzès*, who came into the title in 1680. As a result, the house was known as the Hôtel de Crussol and then as the Hôtel d'Uzès. It underwent subsequent transformations, having been used as stables by the *duc d'Orleans* from 1778, and was finally demolished in 1850.[81] (This *Hôtel d'Uzès* is not to be confused with the later,1769 *hôtel* with the same name by C-N. Le Doux.)

Brice wrote of the *hôtel* in *Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de remarquable des la Ville de Paris* (1684): "*Dans la mesme rüe de saint Thomas est aussi*
"*L'HOTEL DE MONTAUSIER* [i.e. Rambouillet], *que l'on nommoit autrefois le sejour agreable*

des Muses, & qui sert encore aujourd'huy de retraite & d'azile à tous les beaux esprits, par la protection favorable que leur donne M. le Duc de Montausier...".[82]

Of the plans of Paris examined, the only one which shows a building by the name of "*Hôtel de Rambouillet*", on the *rue Saint-Thomas du Louvre*, was the *Plan de Jacques Gomboust* of 1652 (fig. 8) (the year the *marquis* died). In the 1710 plan by Bullet, revised by Jaillot, a slightly different building with the name *Host. d'Vsez* was shown in the same spot (fig. 9).

J-P. Babelon made an attempt based on different sources available at the time, at reconstructing the plan and elevations of the Hôtel de Rambouillet (fig. 10).[83] His elevations show a building with windows more elongated than those of earlier periods, one of the innovations attributed to the *marquise de Rambouillet*.

A ground floor survey-plan of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, dated 9th February, 1699, drawn when an enlargement of the Louvre was envisaged and the land between it and the Tuilleries was surveyed, was since found in the *Archives Nationales* (fig. 11),[84] believed never to have been published. The innovative stairs which the *marquise de Rambouillet* is reputed to have designed for her *hôtel* can be seen on this survey plan; it is evident that they were copied by Hardouin -Mansart at the Château de Clagny (fig. 4).

THE *HOTEL*

Throughout the period the term *hostel or hôtel* denoted the habitations of people of status. In *Tresor de la Langue Françoise Ancienne que Moderne* (1621) Jean Nicot defines the term: "*C'est proprement vne maison, manoir, domicile & logis,* Domus Hospitium*...à present on n'attribue ce mot d'hostel à Paris & autre villes, si ce n'est par certaines prerogatiues aux logis des Princes, grands seigneurs, & du publique, comme l'hostel de Bourbon...l'hostel d'Albert, l'hostel de ville: & les autres domiciles, appelle-on maisons ou logis, & si bien on trouue dãs Paris aucunes maisons de gens au dessous de ce qualibre, inscrites de ce mot hostel, Comme l'hostel de Mendoce, ce n'est que abus & folle outrecuiance de ceux qui l'vsurpent induement, outre le cours que le dit mot Hostel a à present.*" As this thesis is concerned solely with private houses of the nobility (i.e. *hôtels particuliers*) *hôtels de ville, hôtels Dieu*, etc. are not touched upon. The specific designation: "*On dit la Maison d'un bourgeois,* l'Hôtel d'un grand...".[85]

can be seen in contemporary, large-scale plans of Paris, where some large private houses were given the designation *Hôtel*, others *Maison*, accompanied by their owners' name.

Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* (1690) cites the derivation of *Hôtel* according to Menage: "*Ce mot vient de* hospitale". Félibien's (1676) dictionary repeats the noble connections referred to in Nicot, as does the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65) and Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois's (1767) dictionary. D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691) gives the Latin, Roman derivation: "*c'est ce que les Romains appelloient* Ædes."[86] Even though from the late seventeenth century and through the eighteenth French writers refer to *hôtel* as derived from a Latin source, they specify neither its date nor its composition. The *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1771) gives a later use of the term: "*s'est dit depuis quelque temps des maisons garnies des célèbres hôtelleries ou uberges...*"which will not be addressed here. *Maison*, or *hôtel*, like land, belonged to property defined as *immeubles.*

Roland Le Virloys's *Dictionnaire d'Architecture* (1770-1) specifies the amenities which this kind of private dwelling needed to include in order to satisfy owners' status and household: "*...tous les bâtimens & pièces nécessaires pour les logemens, les cuisines, les écuries, &c. suivant sa qualité ou sa richesse.*" J-F. Blondel (1771-7), like others, says of *Hôtels:* "*...pris ici pour la demeure d'un homme de la premiere consideration*",[87] of the buildings of the purely rich he says, however: " *La décoration des Bâtiments des riches Particuliers, doit avoir un caractere qui ne tienne ni la beauté des Hôtels, ni de la simplicité qu'on doit observer dans les maisons subalternes; nous croyons que les ordres d'Architecture ne devroient jamais y être employées.*"[88] That is, the use of the Orders of architecture as external decoration of domestic buildings was, in his view, reserved for the *hôtels particuliers* of the nobility and royalty.

Hôtel functions

The way in which people lived behind the façades of *hôtels particuliers* was to change during the period. Right from the start, however, these houses spanned two quite separate activities: they were offices and they were homes to their inhabitants. The two distinct functions that had to be accommodated within *hôtel particulier*, were therefore: A. Public-official-formal, and B. Private-residential-personal-intimate. And the gap between them grew as new ideas about the family and the individual grew.

The factors that had to be considered in the design of *hôtels particuliers* therefore depended on harmony between: A. The representational-public areas of *hôtels* designated for various types of official business which the owners who held State Office had to perform. In addition, the owners' social status created other official and social demands which were carried out in this part of the *hôtel*, and involved the owners' peers, superiors, and inferiors. And B. The residential-private sections of *hôtels*, designed for the domestic, more relaxed living and interaction of the staff as well as their masters.

Such houses had to cater for diverse functions arising from the formal structure of the society that produced them. The lavishness and grandeur of *hôtels* need to be regarded, therefore, not purely as ostentation, but in part at least as an expression of the grandeur of the State through State Offices. The public areas of the house changed and developed in detail with differing architectural styles and fashions. During a period in which members of the French nobility were congregated in close urban proximity, and had leisure enough to develop a flourishing culture, the French Court, its nobility, and subsequently its bourgeoisie were considered leaders of European culture.[89] This view was expressed in *L'Art de plaire dans la Conversation* (1690) (original *privilege* received in 1676), attributed to Pierre d'Ortigue Sieur de Vaumorière (1610-1693): "*...nous pouvons dire que Paris n'est pas seulement la Capitale d'une florissante Monarchie, mais qu'elle est regardée même, comme la Ville dominante de toute l'Europe. On y vient de toutes parts, les uns pour se polir, ou pour entrer dans le service; d'autres pour voir la plus belle Cour du Monde, & le plus grand Roi de la Terre...*".[90]

With the evolution of the social culture of the French nobility through increased awareness and sophistication in acknowledging the individual, the domestic, private areas of their houses were to change, too. Buildings had to accommodate and reflect the owners' new perception of himself as an individual, and of the new structure of society. This involved changes in the interaction between members of the household and outsiders, and increased their separation. The new perception was based on the enhanced identity of the individual as against the household group, and of the immediate family as against the larger traditional household. With this recognition came the desire for greater spatial privacy and for a congenial way of living manifested by retiring from public view for private activities. The new awareness, which evolved over a considerable time,[91] focused, mainly on the comfort and convenience of the owners who,

together with leading members of the household were increasingly segregated from one another and from their dependents.[92] Though social segregation between masters and dependents increased, privacy seems not to have included such matters as undressing in the presence of servants, on whom masters were dependent. This practice, according to Maza continued right up to the end of the period[93] (ie. until the Revolution).

Hôtel forms

Parisian *hôtels particuliers were* built, broadly speaking, in two fundamentally different forms. They either followed the principle of a *plan massé*,[94] with its central plan or that of a principal *corps-de-logis* with its axial plan. Several significant differences between these methods were reflected in *hôtel* volume, elevations, geographic location, and plan.

Firstly, in its overall form, the compact *plan massé* house tended towards the cube. It was created through amassing volumes almost as in a geometric exercise. Its prime object was to achieve a building with appealing, symmetrical exteriors. Such buildings were generally so located that they were visible from different perspectives and from long distances with landscape all around. The *corps-de-logis* house, on the other hand, had an elongated, principal portion, usually with subsidiary wings at right angles to it which might return to form the fourth side of a courtyard. The wings were frequently lower than the the principal portion of the house, as well as the returning fourth side. This type of composition stressed the presence of voids as much as that of solids. Courtyards visible only from limited distances and vantage points encouraged the viewer's concentration and appreciation of voids and, from within the courtyards, of the façades surrounding him. Thus the volume of the house on a *plan massé* system presented its external envelope to the viewer, while the *corps-de-logis* building, at least in parts, presented a sense of enclosure even when seen from the outside.

Secondly, in principle the building on a *plan massé* system aimed to have windows on all its façades, It was, therefore, suitable only for detached buildings. In the *corps-de-logis* type, the main windows were on the long façades of the main axis the wings might have windows facing both in and out or their outer walls and the short sides of the *corps-de-logis* might be blank. This plan was thus suitable for party-wall buildings. Thirdly, as a result of the second point, the *plan massé* form was more suited to country houses, pavilions, and houses on extensive grounds,

whilst the *corps-de-logis* type was more suitable for urban sites.

The fourth difference lay in their plans. The configuration of the *corps-de-logis* type changed somewhat through the period. Savot (1624), under the heading "*De la forme, ou figure du bastiment*", informed his readers that "*On peut bastir en toutes sortes de formes & figures, mais les principales, les plus frequentes, & les plus commodes sont celles qui sont en corps de logis simples, ou doubles...Les corps de logis simples sont plus ordinaires en France, qu'en autre lieu. Cette forme se pratique ordinairement en bastissant sur les quatre côtez d'une court, sur l'un desquels on dresse le corps de logis principal...*". To which he added: "*Le corps de logis double n'est de si grande montre que le precedent, mais il est plus commode, pour avoir les demeures de l'Eté plus fraîches, & celles de l'Hyver plus chaudes...*".[95] Later on in the century, D'Aviler (1691) explained the term *Corps-de-logis* in his *Dictionnaire:* "*Bâtiment accompli en soi pour l'habitation. Le* simple, *est celui qui renferme qu'une Piece entre ses Murs de face* (fig.12), *et le* double, *celui dont l'espace du dedans, est partagé par un Mur de refend, ou d'une Cloison*" (fig. 13). In the eighteenth century, however, the most accepted, and much repeated subdivision of the depth of a *corps-de-logis* introduced a third space as can be seen from Roland Le Virloys' *Dictionnaire d'Architecture* (1770-1): "*...s'il y a deux pieces entre ces deux murs* [*de face*], *on le nomme corps-de-logis* double*; s'il n'y en a qu'une, on l'appelle* simple*; et s'il y a une piece et un cabinet, ou un corridor, on l'appelle* semi-double..." (fig. 14).

J-F. Blondel (1774), defined the usage of the two kinds of room in a *corps de logis double* as: "*...où, du côté du jardin, sont distribuées les pieces du Maitre, et du côté de la cour, celles des domestiques, lesquelles, par cette raison, ne doivent guerre avoir de profondeur que la moitié de celles des grands appartemens.*"[96] Also, thorough as usual, he added to these three: "*On appelle batiment triple celui qui dans sa cage contient trois pieces enfermées par deux murs de face et de refend...sans parler de ceux qui quelque fois sont appellés quadruples et quintuples.*"[97]

The French eighteenth-century layout of a *plan massé* could be achieved, according to Hautecœur "*...soit on diminuant dans la grandeur le corps-de-logis double...soit en disposant les pieces...autour d'un Salon...ou d'une courette centrale...*".[98] Only at the end of the *Ancien Régime* did the *plan massé* (which according to him was in existence as early as the sixteenth

century),develop and become popular for use in mansions, and even in *hôtels* in Paris (as in the work of C-N. Le Doux). Their plans and volumes were based on idealized, abstract, symmetrical compositions that tended towards the imitation of the Royal Pavilion at Marly (fig. 15), itself inspired by Palladio's Villa Rotonda. Piganiol de la Force's description of the Château de Marly read: "*...consiste proprement en un grand Pavillon isolé qui en est comme le corps, & douze autres moins grands qui sont separés & distribués, six d'un côté & six de l'autre.*"[99] The general disposition of spaces in the *plan massé* assemblage was new to *hôtels.*[100] The overall formation of such detached buildings was conceived for, and suited primarily to, open locations rather than urban settings (unless on very large sites). Marly, Louis XIV's favoured retreat, functioned in essence as a pavilion or summer house. The German correspondence (1676-1722) of the Bavarian princess Elizabeth-Charlotte, Palatine du Rhin, who married Louis XIV's only brother, Philippe d'Orleans and was the mother of Philippe d'Orleans, Regent of France (1715-1723), bears witness to this fact: "*A Marly, le roi ne voulait pas la moindre cérémonie. Il n'était permis ni aux ambassadeurs , ni aux envoyés d'y venir; il ne s'y donnait point d'audience; il n'y avait point d'etiquette, et tout courait pêle-mêle. A la promenade le roi faisait mettre le chapeau aux hommes, et dans le salon il était permis à tout le monde, jusqu'aux capitaines, lieutenans et sous lieutenans de la garde à pied, de s'asseoir...*".[101]

On the whole, the *corps-de-logis* type house seems more suited to the design of Parisian *hôtels* during the period. Also, it is arguable that, because of the inherent complexities and physical limitations of *hôtels* planned on this system, they are the more interesting of the two. Great ingenuity was required by designers to achieve a coherent, pleasing, symmetrical and august appearance in the external façades which delimited the voids that constitute the courtyards, together with a harmonious solution of the complex problems of living and working in this form of house.

The urban *corps-de-logis hôtel* -plan was more suited for a "working house" . The *plan massé*, on the other hand, was more suited for country retreats, where spaces for Offices and the entailed complexities could be dispensed with. In *Discours sur la nécessité de l'étude de l'Architecture* (1754), under the section "*Preceptes généraux concernant la distribution des Bâtimens a l'usage de la Société Civile* ", J-F. Blondel has a sub-heading: " *...de la proportion et du rapport que doivent avoir ensemble les avant-corps et les pavillons, avec les arrière-corps et les aîles d'un bâtiment*",[102] from which it could be deduced that the overall amassing of building

volumes was of prime importance. Nonetheless, it would seem that such total concentration on unity of proportions of volumes related only to free-standing, civil buildings, and to idealized, theoretical exercises in drawing. The same consideration was not applicable to party-wall buildings such as *corps-de-logis hôtels*, where a total, overall view of the building was never possible, because of adjoining buildings and restricted perspectives (*see* Chapter V). As a result, there was no good reason for idealized shapes in the overall plan and volume of a *corps-de-logis* building, whether in actual, built examples or in demonstration exercises presented in treatises. In contrast, however, in such constrained conditions each particular and immediately visible section of the façade such as a *cour d'honneur* or a garden elevation was treated as an entity in its own right — as was a room — or in the spirit of Courtonne: "*...la simétrie qui fait des principales beautez de l'Architecture, ne doit être que dans les parties qui se présentent à l'œil dans le même temps...*".[103] This, I believe, referred to symmetry about a vertical axis, or a human symmetry, with man as its model; a symmetry which had earlier been mentioned in the title of Vitruvius's Book III Chapter I: "*De l'Ordonnance du bastiment des Temples, & de leurs proportions avec la mesure du corps humain*",[104] a symmetry which Savot advocated and which later French architects repeated.[105]

Layout plans of buildings by Palladio, even of those in urban locations, show that he sometimes used mirror symmetry, at times along two axes at right angles to one another thus turning the layout plan into an exercise in pure geometry (fig. 16c). The French fashion of handling symmetry in *hôtel* plans (fig. 17), however, showed an extraordinary understanding of how to resolve two fundamental issues at the same time. Firstly, that of the overall design of complex houses on the large, irregular sites which had resulted from the amassing and amalgamation of earlier, smaller sites in the old city of Paris — houses that were party-wall buildings, whose façades were at any one time, only visible in part. These designs needed to take into account the rules of architecture and the visual and experiential impact of Harmony imparted through symmetry. Secondly, the design had to take into account the progressive requirements relating to *commodité*, or comfort of living in French *hôtels.* As a consequence, the symmetry used in the design of such buildings was, by and large, a symmetry about one axis, or a human symmetry. It related purely to the immediate space, section or part of the building which could be experienced and viewed, on its own, at any one time.

The concern of French designers was clearly with the Harmony which could be experienced when a person was surrounded, or enclosed within a space, rather than with abstract symmetry on paper. Internal symmetry, in plan was , and is, in my opinion, a redundant exercise in any event, as it can never be experienced in reality. After all, as one can only ever experience the very space in which one is enclosed at any particular time, or which one is looking at from the outside, anything beyond makes sense only on paper. The superfluous, abstract symmetry which the Italians practised in the plans of major residential urban houses, restricted the possibilities of variety of design for increased comfort which came to be valued by the French with increased desire for *commodité.*[106] The complex Parisian sites on which *hôtels particuliers* were designed, gave rise to magnificent buildings in which the rules of architecture were used but only as far as their results could be experienced at any particular time. That is, these buildings were seen in sections, each individually, needing to present an harmonious entity. This permitted great versatility and endless spaces for convenience which were not mirrored in the other half of the plan and elevations that did not have to mirror the elevation on the opposite face of the building. The result was reflected in plans that were much less tidy or perfect than the Italian ones, but which satisfied the requirements of users to a greater degree. However, when one looks closer at the French plans, one finds that there is a distinct symmetry about one axis, for individual spaces, in main rooms, circulation routes and courtyards. Such symmetry was used systematically along the route through which the visitor would progress in the space and through the building. This systematic orientation of axes gave the visitor some directional sense of the route of circulation, and in a sense signposted it.

In general, then, the overall form of the Parisian *hôtel particulier* was the traditional, urban, party-wall building with inner courtyards. *Hôtels particuliers* were built both in the old built-up parts of town and in newer quarters of the expanding city. Where the site was large, and most of the *hôtels particuliers* built for the nobility were constructed on large sites, it was possible to have at least one wing built at right angles to the *corps-de-logis* and backing onto the party wall. In such cases one elevation of the *corps-de-logis*, which was constructed at right angles to the party wall or nearly so, faced the *cour d'honneur* while the other, the best façade, faced the garden at the rear. Examples include the Hôtel de Jars by F. Mansart (1648) (fig. 13). On wider sites it was possible to place two wings at right angles to, and at either end of, the *corps-de-logis.* The wings embracing the *cour d'honneur* faced each other and backed onto opposite party walls, as

for example at Hôtel d'Aumont (1648-49) by Le Vau and F. Mansart (fig. 18), the Hôtel d'Argouge by F. Mansart (1661, later known as the Hôtel de Carnavalet) (fig. 12) and the Hôtel de Sully (1625-30) by Jean Androuet du Cerceau (fig. 19).

Variations and developments of the location of the *corps-de-logis* ensued. It could overlook the street or be placed at the far end of the entrance court; alternatively, two buildings, parallel to one another, would make up the *hôtel*, one fronting the street and the other at the far end of the courtyard. The latter, the most prestigious part of the building, thus faced the garden with its rear elevation, and the *cour d'honneur* with its front elevation. The enclosed area of the *cour d'honneur* was generally formed by the *corps-de-logis* as one of its axes, and the wing or wings as the other axis. Frequently a four-sided space was formed with some optional curves, but the *cour d'honneur* at times took most irregular shapes.

The Hôtel Amelot de Bizeuil (1657-60) by P. Cottard faced two roads, one at the front, the other at the rear of the house. It had two courtyards, and two *corps-de-logis* The first *corps-de-logis*, occupied the space between the two courtyards, the other, at the far end of the site, facing the street (fig. 20). The Maison Mansart (note: *Maison* rather than *hôtel*) by Hardouin-Mansart was built on a narrow site and had no wings, but two *corps-de-logis*, one fronting the road, the other, facing the garden (fig.21). The Hôtel d'Argenson (1726) by G. Boffrand on the other hand had continuous accommodation through the main *corps-de-logis*, the two wings and the front *corps-de-logis* (fig. 22). Some *hôtels* on wide sites, however, were designed with wings that were not put to use as living quarters, like the Hôtel de Chaulnes or de Vendôme (1707) by Le Blond and Courtonne with two courtyards facing the street (fig. 23), the Hôtel d'Estrées (1704) by Robert de Côte (fig. 24), the Hôtel de Noirmoutier (1720) by J. Courtonne (fig. 25), and others. The possibilities were very varied and Jean-Pierre Babelon illustrated, schematically, the overall configurations of *hôtel* layouts with their *corps de logis* and wings (fig.26).[107]

An additional form of *hôtel* made its appearance in d'Aviler' and Le Blond's *Cours d'Architecture* (1710 & later editions), published by Mariette with the assistance of Le Blond. In it the number of auxiliary spaces was reduced. The building referred to in drawings and words in the new chapter is a project for a detached house on an extensive site near the *Couvent de Chartreux* at the *rue d'Enfers* in Paris. This type of single-storey building was introduced as a "*Bâtiment à*

l'Italienne" (fig. 27). The supposed advantage of such a single-storey *hôtel* was perceived to lie in the greater convenience which it would afford by eliminating the main stairs. Greater convenience and beauty was ascribed to this type of building as well. D'Aviler (1710 -1760) also speaks of the current fashion of placing the kitchen away from the body of the house. With this arrangement, *domestiques* had to walk further to bring food for meals, but the walk was on a single level. This eliminated the doubly objectionable inconvenience caused by the use of lower ground floors as kitchens. Firstly, it gave rise to problems of hygiene in stagnant, humid underground kitchens, poorly ventilated and lit by air/light shafts, in which meat quickly became rotten. Unsanitary conditions were exacerbated by the discharge of water from the kitchen directly into the common sewer, which stank. The smell, combined with that of charcoal and meat, penetrated as far as the *appartements*, where the fumes ruined and blackened the furniture. Secondly, there was the inconvenience of noise generated by servants using the stairs in houses with several floors and basement kitchens.[108] Despite their admiration for single-storey buildings, D'Aviler(1710 and later) advised designing buildings on several levels for sites that were not very large. This brought the writer back to the usual composition of *hôtels:* "*...où resserrez par le peu d'étenduë du terrain, l'on est obligé, pour avoir beaucoup de logement en peu d'espace, de distribuer les Apartemens par étages les uns au dessus des autres...*".[109] In the 1760 edition the reader was advised to refer to J-F. Blondel's *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6) for his approach to the subject of multi-storey buildings.[110]

This idealized single-storey, detached *hôtel* as a residence for the upper classes in Paris and elsewhere might have met with the approval of eighteenth-century French architectural theoreticians and practitioners, but it was constrained by location, by the size of the grounds and by the facilities it offered — servants lived apart, in a separate building, and the facility of *dégagement* (*see below* ***dégagement*** pp 153-6) was not in evidence. Single-storey houses, like *plan massé* buildings, were more suited to country retreats and pavilions, where official duties were somewhat relaxed[111] and residence was usually for short durations.

HOTEL SUBDIVISION : THE *APPARTEMENT*

Many residential houses in Paris had a shop on the ground floor facing the road. Although this applied mainly to other than *hôtels particuliers*, it applied also to some of the latter, for example, to the Hôtel de Beauvais. In ordinary houses with shops, however, rooms at the rear and those

on the upper floors were residential. The proprietor usually kept the best rooms for himself and let the rest, piece-meal, to tenants. Often someone would rent rooms on several floors with no direct interconnection between those rooms. Each house was originally designed and constructed as a single family unit for a single household. Irrespective of the number of floors, only one kitchen was provided on the ground floor, with the water supply in the courtyard. Such arrangements appear in Le Muet's, *Maniere de bien bastir pour toute sortes de Personnes* (1623 & 1647) (fig. 1) and in *l'Architecture Moderne ou l'art de bien batir pour toutes sortes des personnes* (1728) by Tiercelet (fig. 2). (Some investigations that have appeared within the last few decades, including works based on inventories taken after deaths, mention this matter.[112]) The picture that emerges from such writings is that those who could afford more than one room would rent several rooms under the accepted title of "*appartement*" in order to satisfy their daily needs, even if these rooms were not interconnected. In such circumstances, to go from one room to another they would share the general means of circulation — stairs and passages — with other residents of the house.

Whereas "apartment" in English can mean: "A single room of a house; the original sense being expressed by the plural apartments", and, "a single room of a house; (plural) set of rooms",[113] the French, early on, understood the term *appartement*, or the smallest unit of habitation, to comprise several separate enclosures, one of which would be turned into a kitchen. Those living in rented *appartemens* — including the rich and noble — tended to rent rooms that were located vertically above one another, and even whole vertical sections of a house. It is interesting to note that those who had the means to rent more than just one room would do so in a vertical configuration, long before horizontal, self-contained flats had come into existence. It seems that because at this time the French were not too particular about their privacy, they benefited as from extended living spaces in a seemingly unorganized, or random, configuration. It is not surprising, therefore, that apartments, and apartment-blocks are far more acceptable, and more extensively lived in in France than they are in England. The British agriculturalist, Arthur Young (1741-1824) who was sent on agricultural surveys to Europe remarked, as late as 1787, on his visit to Paris: "Lodgings are not half so good as at London, yet considerably dearer. If you do not hire a whole suite of rooms at an *hôtel*, you must probably mount three, four, or five pair of stairs, and in general have nothing but a bed-chamber...You must search with trouble before you will be lodged in a private family, as gentlemen usually are at London, and pay a

higher price...".[114]

The French desire for several small, separate, spaces for them and their families to live in was to satisfy a requirement for comfort of living or *commodité.* This form of living came to replace the earlier, large, open plan "hall" building, where a single, large space accommodated most activities of all members of a household, as is substantiated in some contemporary writing. On the basis of the work of the early historian Ammian, the historian François Eudes de Mezeray wrote in *Histoire de France avant Clovis* (1696): "*...s'imagine que ces Saliens estoient les Nobles de ce peuple...& il croit qu'on lez appeloit ainsi comme gens de* sale, *c'est à dire, Gentilhommes, parce que l'hostel & le train des Nobles s'appeloit* sale *en leur langage, ainsique depuis on l'à nommé cour.*"[115] Both the *Encyclopédie*, and Furetière have similar explanations of the etymology of the word *Sale* "*... Le mot* salle, *selon Ménage, vient de l'allemand Sahl qui veut dire la même chose. Ducange le dérive de SALA, qui de la basse Latiné signifie une maison...*" to which Furetière added: "*et qui se dit encore en Gascogne pour signifier la maison des Gentilhommes.*" (Du Cange's updated Glossary has: *Sale - Maison considérable, palais, hôtel.*)[116]

The evolution of the spaces — and the subdivisions thereof — which the French inhabited, from large multi-purpose to single-purpose spaces, took time. Nonetheless, as early as the seventeenth century, whilst no specific usage had been assigned to particular rooms, it was considered that living quarters consisted of an assembly of rooms. In *hôtels particuliers*, where the comfortable arrangement of accommodation required much greater sophistication than in rented accommodation, it was taken for granted that each significant member of the household lived in his own private *appartement.* As the period progressed, so did the complexity of the spaces created in order to allow for harmonious living.

In the early seventeenth century, the term seems not to have had the significance it was to acquire later. In Jean Nicot's *Tresor de la Langue Françoise tant Ancienne que Moderne* (1621) no entry for "*Appartement* " appears. Savot's investigation into private dwellings, *Architecture Françoise des Bâtimens Particuliers* (1624 & later editions), makes no mention of such entities either. Since he was a physician, his consideration of town and country houses rested on questions of *salubrité*, *solidité*, *commodité*, and *beauté.*[117] After considering these, he looks at

the parts, or spaces, which made up such buildings, as the title of one of his chapters, "De la position des membres du bastiment" suggests (referring to rooms). These "*membres*" included: *Chapelle; Caves; Cuisine, Gardemanger, Salle du commun, & Fournil; Montées & Passages; Antisalles & Salles; Antichambres & Anticabinets, Chambres, Garderobes & Arrieregarderobes; Cabinets & Arriere- cabinets; Galeries; Librairies; Etuves & Bains*; *Ecuries.* Yet, nowhere throughout the study does he assemble or synthesize these spaces into units under the concept of "*appartements* ", nor does he mention the word. Pierre Le Muet, who does mention the *appartement* in *Maniere de bien bastir povr tovtes sortes de personnes* (1623; 1647), seems still to have considered it to mean a main room: "*Pour ce qui regarde l'aissance et commodité, il faut observer...Que les principaux appartemens, comme les Salles et Chambres principales, soient accompagnées d'une garderobe, et aussi d'vn cabinet.*"[118]

The concept and the term *appartement*, in its later (and present) meaning, seems to have come into use, in French architectural treatises, only after the formation of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* (1671). Nonetheless, the need for the "*appartement* ", i.e. a unit made up of several individual spaces to create comfortable living quarters, was recognized and it was in actual use well before the term was used to refer to it. The earliest written exposition by a French architect, that I am aware of describes a physical manifestation. It appeared in *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture* (1568) by Philibert De L'Orme (c.1505 -1577) *architecte, conceiller et aumonier ordinaire du Roy* [Henri II] *et abbé de S. Serge lez Angiers.* In it De L'Orme discusses the renowned cantilevered stone bay (*trompe*)at the *Chasteau d'Annet*, which is best known as an expression of stone stereotomy, and explained why this extraordinary cantilevered bay came into existence (figs. 28a-b).[119] The reason for building it was purely practical, an addition (or an afterthought, once the building had been designed), to ensure that which can only be considered as an early expression of *commodité*, or the greater facility afforded by an *appartement:* "*La quelle trõpe fut faicte par vne contraincte, à fin de pouuoir accommoder vn cabinet à la chambre ou le feu Roy Henry logeoit estant audit chasteau* [*Annet*]*...Voyant doncques telle contraincte..et outre ce cognoissant qu'il est necessaire et plus que raisonnable d'accompaigner les chambres des Roys et grands Princes et Seigneurs d'vn cabinet, (à fin qu'ils se puissent retirer en leur priué et particulier, soit pour escrire ou traicter des affaires en secret, ou autrement)...*".[120] From his description one must surmise that this use was novel and previously unknown.

The entry "*Appartement*" in Félibien's architectural dictionary (1676) reads "*veut dire logement ou demeure particuliere dans une maison. Les grecs nomment* Andrones*les Appartemens des hommes, &* Gyneconitis *appartemens des femmes*"[121] Though Furetière (1690) did not include the term *appartement* in his dictionary, he used the word when describing specific rooms (*see lower down this page*). D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691 & later) deals with the term *appartement* in a more abstract fashion, by giving its Latin derivation: "*Ce mot vient du Latin* partimentum *fait du verbe* partiri *diviser, ou bien* à parte masionis, *parce qu'il fait partie de la demeure.*"[122] In the eighteenth century the term became much more prevalent, both in architectural treatises and in dictionaries. The *Encyclopédie* repeated part of d'Aviler's Latin derivation, and added: "*...aussi entend-t-on par Appartement la partie essentielle d'une maison royale, publique ou particuliere...*"[123] The *Dictionnaire Domestique Portatif* (1762-64) explains that: "*l'on nomme ainsi le nombre de chambres nécessaires pour former un logement que l'on puisse habiter commodement...le tout, de plein pied, autant qu'il est possible, hors la cuisine qu'il est plus commode d'avoir par bas.*"[124] (this work seems the only one to include the kitchen as part of an *appartement*). This definition appears to include lesser dwellings and rented accommodation. Roland Le Virloys, who considered both d'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* and the *Encyclopédie* as containing incomplete and confused collections of architectural terms,[125] gave *Appartement* the English translation: "Apartment , or drawing room", and repeated the meaning of "*une suite de pieces nécessaires pour être logé commodément...*".[126] Others interpreted it similarly.

Distinctions between different types of *Appartement*

Starting with d'Aviler, architectural treatises included in their interpretations of *appartement* the qualification that there were two distinct sizes of *appartement: "...il y en a de grands et de petits.*"[127] (not everyone agreed on where to draw the line). Distinctions were also drawn between several types of *appartements: de société, de parade,* and *de commodité.*[128] The last was on occasion referred to as "*appartement privé*".[129] The *Encyclopédie*, however, noted only two types: *de parade,* and *de commodité.*

Furetière, in *Dictionnaire Universel* (1690), is rather inconsistent: "*...un bel appartement doit avoir: antichambre, chambre et cabinet.*" and elsewhere: "*... Un bel appartement doit avoir sale, anti-chambre, chambre et cabinet.*"[130] By the next century it had much increased in size, as can be seen from the *Dictionnaire Domestique Portatif* (1762-4): "*il doit être principalement*

composé d'un anti-chambre, salon, chambre-à-coucher, cabinet, et d'une garde-robe . The *Encyclopédie* proposes that it is: "*...composé, lorsque l'Appartement est complet, d'une ou plusieurs anti-chambres, de salles d'assemblée, chambres-à-coucher, cabinet, arriere-cabinet, toilette, garde-robe etc.*" Roland Le Virloys (1770-1) considers that: "*Dans les Hôtels un appartement est ordinairement composé d'une premiere et d'une seconde antichambre, d'un salon or salle d'assemblée, d'une chambre-à-coucher, et de plusieurs cabinets et garderobes.*"

Architectural writers, as mentioned above, also distinguished between large and small *appartements.* The suite of rooms necessary for a *moindre appartement,* according to d'Aviler (1691), consisted of: an *Anti-Chambre,* a *Chambre,* a *Cabinet* and a *Garderobe,* always *dégagé* by some small stairs.[131] Some ninety years later, Le Camus de Mezières (1780) suggested that at least five spaces were required to form an ordinary *appartement:* an *Anti-Chambre;* a *Chambre;* a *Sallon;* a *Chambre-à-Coucher;* a *Cabinet;* and a *Garderobe.*[132] Examples of *grands appartemens* are given by Tiercelet (1728), composed of: a *Vestibule;* a first *Anti-Chambre;* a second *Anti-Chambre;* a *Chambre principale* or *Salon;* a *Chambre-à-Coucher* that could double as a *Chambre de Parade;* several *Cabinets* and especially several *Garderobes,* while d'Aviler (1710 revised 1760) suggested that it should contain: a *Vestibule;* a first *Anti-Chambre;* a second *Anti-Chambre;* a *Chambre Principal;* a *Salon* or *Cabinet de Companie;* a *Chambre-à-Coucher;* several *Cabinets* and *Garderobes.*[133]

The noticeable difference between the composition of an ordinary *appartement* and a large one was the introduction, in the larger ones, of the *Vestibule, Sale* or *Sallon,* and the proliferation of *Anti-Chambres, Cabinets* and *Garderobes.* The increase over time in the number of spaces for convenience is spelt out by the *comtesse de Genlis:* "*...Dans les vieilles maisons, il y a infiniment moins de pièces; et ces pièces sont beaucoup plus grandes, plus élevées...Aujourd'hui, on a multiplié à l'infini les pièces, les cabinets, et surtout les portes de* degagement *et les petits* escaliers dérobés. *Les appartemens sont distribués de manière que toute communication peut être absolument rompue* quand le veut; *que l'indépendence réciproque est assurée, et que le surprise qui pourroit découvrir un mystere est impossible.*"[134] The increased auxiliary spaces in houses, whose number grew as the period progressed, afforded greater physical separation between individuals in their different pursuits within a house.

Both the small and the large *appartements* mentioned were those of the heads of the family and major personages of the household. Astonishingly, it would seem that the first mention of accommodation for children and other dependents was made only towards the end of the eighteenth century, by Le Camus de Mezières He elaborated on the number and use of such rooms as:

Appartement du Secrétaire [anti-chambr e, 3 cabinets, salle de compagnie, chambre-à-coucher, garderobe, cuisine, 2 chambres de Domestiques, one of whom was a cook];

Logemens des Enfans de la Maison [anti-chambre, grande piese pour exercices, chambre-à-coucher, chambre pour les armoires, chambre pour la Domestique, a *garderobe* would be an advantage];

Logemens des Fils de la Maisons took place in the *appartement du Gouverneur*, which consisted of five rooms;

Logemens des Demoiselles similar to that of *Second Secrétaire*, and *Bibliothécare [anti-chambre, salle de compagnie, cabinet];*

Logemens du Maître d'Hôtel [anti-chambre, piece pour serrer nombre de choses dont il a la garde, cabinet, chambre-à-coucher, piece pour recevoir les personnes et les Marchands, 2 autres pour son utilité particuliere];

Logemens de l'Intendant [anti-chambre,salle de compagnie, cabinet, chambre-à-coucher, cuisine, 2 pieces de réserve..];

Logemens de Premier Valet-de-Chambre (anti-chambre, chambre, cabinet, grande piece avec armoire);

Premiere Femme-de-Chambre [anti-chambre, chambre, piece pour le travail des dentelles et menus ouvrages],[135] and so on.

Apart from *appartements*, for living in, there were other areas of *hôtels* that served specific purposes, like *les Offices*, and the *appartement des Bains*, which like *appartements* were made up of separate spaces (*see below*, pp 170; 177-9).

Types of *appartement*

Even if for a long time rooms had no definite, or specific designation, one finds in French architectural treatises, from d'Aviler onwards, that there was a distinct recognition of overall designation of usage for complete *appartements.* With this in mind, *hôtels* were subdivided into

appartements for different social usages, which in turn dictated the form of behaviour or social intercourse suitable in each type. With this strategy of design, whole *appartements* (rather than individual rooms) needed to be addressed when designing the *distribution* in *hôtels.* It therefore seems logical to begin by examining the use of entire *appartements*, before dealing with the individual spaces of which they were made up. This examination aims to elucidate both usage and flow within these buildings.

Sophistication in separating usages of different areas of the *hôtel* came hand in hand with sophistication in the way of life and social behaviour (*civilité*). Even if *appartements* were reputed to have evolved from beginnings in days of the *marquise de Rambouillet*, they appear to be officially acknowledged in French architectural treatises only after the State, in the form of the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*, had made its mark. J-F. Blondel's elucidation of the different types of *appartements* included the fundamentals of usage of *hôtels* in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His descriptions reads as follows: "*Un appartement de société est destiné a recevoir sa famille et ses ami...*", it was situated on the *bel etage* and could if necessary be joined to other *appartemens* of the principal *enfilade.* Of the second type he says: "*Un appartement de parade est destine pour la magnificence ou pour la demeure personelle du maître...*" and, "*Un appartement de commodité est au contraire celui qui dans un batiment d'importance est rarement ouvert aux etrangers, étant destiné à la retraite du maître ou de la maîtresse du logis...*". It was used for sleeping, and for receiving friends and family. "*Ces sorts d'endroit procurent aux personnes de dehors la liberté de voir de grands appartemens, sans qu'on soit obligé d'observer un cérémomial quelquefois gênant entre ceux qui sont de même rang. Lorsque l'étendue du terrain ne permet de pratiquer ces appartemens près de ceux de parade, on les place en entresole.*"[136] Roland Le Virloys comments on the location of *appartement de commodité:* "*... est celui qui est commode, sain et eloigné du bruit...Il doit avoir communication avec le grand appartement de parade; qui étant très-élevé donne le moyen de former des entresols a l'appartement de commodité, dont on forme quelquefois aussi, ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui* petits appartemens."[137]

In *Encyclopédie Méthodique - Architecture* (1788-1825), Quatremère de Quincy gives some idea of the physical relationship required between *grands appartements* and *petits appartements:* "*...que les Maîtres puissent passer des uns dans les autres, sans risquer de*

prendre l'air froid de déhors du vestibules et anti-chambres..." and in order to avoid noise and people, such *appartements* had to be located away from the *basses cours.*[138] The *comte d'Hezecques* (born 1774) provides an insider's knowledge of the use of *petits appartemens* in *Souvenirs d'un Page de la Cour de Louis XVI*: "*On appelait petits appartemens, chez les princes, une suite de pieces où ils se dérobaient a la représentation, où ils se désennuyaient, dans la solitude, du poids de la grandeur.*"[139] Even though this description related to the Royal household, it is nonetheless worth noting as it exemplifies the general distinction between *petits*, and other *appartements*. In *hôtels particuliers*, the private *petits appartements* also permitted some relaxation from the formalities of Office.

Laugier's (1755) displays an attitude towards *petits appartemens* which seems ambivalent. On the one hand, he commends French architects on their mastery in the field of *distribution* and their skills in multiplying the number of lodgings in confined situations. French inventiveness in this field, he believed, led to the proliferation of *petits appartemens* which, while not entirely bad (*ce gout n'est pas absolument mauvais...*) could, were its use to become too general, turn the houses of great men into labyrinths of rabbit hutches: "*...dans les grandes maisons ils sont toujours déplacés, a moins qu'ils n'y soient tout au plus comme des hors-d'œuvres de fantaisie.*"[140] Quatremère de Quincy, from an historical perspective, saw them as a necessary evil: "*...la mode des grandes pièces ne fut point de durée dans un pays où le climat devoit produire l'usage inverse de l'Italie...Le besoin, ce tyran des arts, dût forcer les architectes à adopter les petites distributions dans lesquelles l'Architecture a bien moins d'essor à prendre...*".[141]

Unqualified approval of *petits appartements* and smaller spaces, in general, which increased the comfort of those using them, is voiced in Le Camus de Mezières's *Le Génie de l'Architecture* (1780): "*...malgré ces nombreux et vastes logemens, il y a encore de petits appartemens où on a le soin de faire trouver tout ce que la commodité, l'aisance et le luxe peuvent faire desirer. Aussi ces petits appartemens sont-ils plus fréquentés que les grands, la nature conduit à cette préférence. Les grands appartemens ne sont, à proprement parler, que de parade, il semble que la gêne et la contrainte en soient l'apanage: dans de trop grandes pieces l'homme se trouve disproportionné. Les objets sont trop éloignés de lui, on s'y retranche dans une partie, le reste devient inutile et déplaît.*"[142] From his description one is also led to believe that towards the end

of the eighteenth century, *petits appartemens* in *hôtels* were more frequented than the large ones, and that they were certaintly much more appreciated. And most of all he made clear that the preference for these small spaces was a reasoned preference, held by owners and their families, for their own private use and not only for use by *domestiques.*

The last few statements are of particular relevance in this thesis for several reasons. 1. The acknowledgement, in words, that *petits appartements*, including those in *entresols*, were used by the owner's family by the 1750s (*see below*, pp 142-3; 160), and were not only for the use of domestic staff. 2. They specify, quite clearly, the right or privilege of admittance, both physical and visual, into *appartements* . Whereas closer friends might see the splendour of the *appartement de parade*, they were not inconvenienced by the formalities of this part of the house. Friends entered from the outside, like all visitors, but as they were of the same peer group, they were not encumbered with undue ceremony, were treated with greater ease and were allowed into the private *appartemens de commodité* that were sometimes located partly in mezzanines. 3. These statements elucidate the way in which the writers — and presumably, therefore, also contemporary *hôtel* owners — viewed, and segregated those who entered *hôtels.* In a world with so much ceremonial, the question was not whom to keep away from the premises, but rather, with whom was it possible to dispense with the whole tiresome performance, and relax in a more congenial fashion. And 4. from Laugier's comment (and J-F. Blondel's on Marly, *see below* p 142), one can deduce that the practice of creating small *appartements* for the use of the family seems to have been fairly new in France in the 1750s.

Yet any changes applied to actual buildings were not to be shocking, since the element of shock was just as inappropriate in architecture as it was unacceptable in behaviour, as said by J-F. Blondel (1774) in the guise of the *comte de Saleran*, advising the *comtesse deVaujeu:* "*...j'ai appris...que le premier mérite de l'Architecture consistoit, de la part de l'Artiste à n'employer du génie de l'art que ce que le goût autorise; et que celui-ci n'admettoit que rarement les contrastes.*"[143] Le Camus de Mezières (1780) expressed the same idea: "*rien n'est plus choquant que les contrastes; ils sont aussi désagréable à la vue qu'un vice de proportion; c'est un défault d'harmonie.*"[144]

Human interaction in French society was dictated, to some extent, by the space in which the exchange took place. This extended to the different types of *appartements*, where the most

formal behaviour was exercised in the *appartements de parade*. As seen in Chapter II, the manuals of manners segregated interaction into three categories: with superiors, inferiors or with equals. Since an *appartement de commodité* was accessible only to personal friends, relations and servants one can conclude that those entering such spaces were treated as equals or as people with whom some familiarity was acceptable. De Courtin (1672) tells his readers, that true and therefore desirable familiarity is: "*... le symbole de l'amitié, et c'est celle-là dont doivent user les égaux entre honnestes gens.*" He went on to explain that even familiarity had its rules: "*Ce qui fait voir qu'ils doivent absolument regler leur conduite à leur égard sur un principe d'amitié, et qu'ils doivent par consequent éviter en toutes choses de se choquer... Ils doivent chercher toutes les occasions de plaire à leurs égaux.*"[145] He discusses familiarity and conversation between equals in what were presumably private rooms: "*...cette familiarité dispense des actions de ceremonies, elle dispense aussi des paroles de circonlocution qui marquent la soûmission et la déference: et d'ordinaire la conversation entre égaux est plus libre et plus gaye que celles entre personnes où il y a de l'inégalité. Mais...ces conversations toutes gayes qu'elles sont, doivent estre honnestes...*".[146]

Conversation between friends or equals was considered by Gracian in *Oraculo Manual* (1647): "*..la conversation doit être aisée comme le vétement, si c'est entre bons amis. Car lorsque c'en est une de céremonie et de respect, il y doit entrer plus de retenüe, pour montrer, que l'on a beaucoup de savoir-vivre...Parler à-propos, est plus nécessaire, que parler éloquemment.*"[147] De La Salle's 1774 edition of *Les Regles de la Bienscéance...* included the advice that when visiting: "*...il est trop familier de s'y tutoyer entre amis et sur tout publiquement...*".[148] Nonetheless, he believed that "*Dans les visites que les personnes d'une même famille, ou des amis se rendent, tout le cérémonial consiste dans une politesse douce et réciproque; il en faut toujours bannir la gêne et l'air guindé* [stilted]",[149] instead: "*...entre égaux, il faut toujours se prevenir par une mutuelle politesse.*"[150]

The above quotations impart something of an impression of relaxed gatherings with those admitted into *appartemens de commodité*, and indicate that even here a certain formality or *civilité*, was expected. On the other hand it is apparent that certain kinds of social interaction were considered appropriate to some rooms, and others, to others. Manuals, for example that of de Courtin (1672) informed hosts that: "*...il est à remarquer, que ce n'est pas seulement aux*

personnes de haute qualité à qui nous devons rendre honneur dans nôtre maison; mais aussi à toute autre personne qui peut passer chez nous par étrangere; c'est a dire, à tous ceux qui ne sont pas nos domestiques, ni nos inferieurs, quand ils n'auoient que l'âge par dessus de nous...faire assoir dans nostre plus belle chambre...",[151] a sentiment which was repeated in other manuals. Thus shocking others or disrupting the harmonious equilibrium of interaction through inappropriate behaviour was deemed as unacceptable as the shock or disharmony created through contrasts in architecture.

Entresols or *mezzanines*

Entresols were one of the major means of resolving the inconvenience which arose from the earlier, large, multi-purpose spaces; a device through the construction of which *petits appartements* could be formed to give enjoyment to some.[152] Nonetheless, plans of *entresols* did not, as a matter of course, feature as part of the set of building drawings (plans, elevations, sections) presented in treatises and other published works, although they were alluded to in some texts. Consequently, it is not possible to get a true picture of *hôtels* from drawings from this source alone.

The term *entresol* does not appear in Félibien's architectural dictionary (1676). F. Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture* (1698) says that they: "*... ne font partie que d'un estage coupé.*" and "*Les plus belles proportions que l'on puisse donner aux Entresoles, sont ou de couper la hauteur de l'étage en trois parties & en doner une à l'Entresole & deux au logement de desous; ou bien de donner à l'Entresole les 2/5 de la hauteur de l'étage, ou les 3/7, ou enfin les 4/9.*"[153] This description bears witness to the fact that even if such spaces were subsidiary, he did not regard them as left-over spaces, but as areas of the house that required some exacting consideration of proportions to tie them into the architectural whole.

The use and integration of *entresols* in town houses illustrates a fundamental difference between architecture in Italy and France. The architects of these two nations adopted different approaches with regard to façades, which in turn had considerable consequence for the composition of such houses. In his treatise, Palladio quite clearly showed mezzanine windows on the façades of private houses (figs. 16a-c). At times, such windows broke up the continuous horizontal line of windows along a façade, and at times they formed an additional line of small-

scale windows on the façade, though never at basement or at attic levels. In contrast, Parisian *hôtel* façades, which were becoming progressively more Classical, displayed a tendency towards a coherent formula of window distribution, with windows on each floor maintaining a uniform height throughout, that is along any part of the façade which was visible from a single vantage point. Windows are discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV. At this point, only the fact is mentioned that the introduction of small windows on the façade, except for those at basement or attic levels, was not part of the French scheme of distributing windows on façades. This specific difference between Italian and French buildings is noted by Quatremère de Quincy: "*Les Italiens appellent* mezzanino *ce que nous appelon* entresol. *Ils en pratiquent dans leurs palais, et ils les font apparens...*".[154]

His comment, alluding to the fact that the French did not display the existence of *entresols* on the façades of their *palais*, is easily extended to *hôtels* that incorporated rooms of both large and small volumes within their walls. One such was the Hôtel de Rohan (1706) (now part of the French *Archives Nationales*) in the *Vieille rue du Temple*, designed by Pierre-Alexis Delamaire (1675-1745). In *Architecture Françoise* (1727), Mariette published the following drawings of the building: ground floor plan; first floor plan; front elevation; garden elevation; and section (figs.29a-d). The section shows, however, there was an *entresol*, of which no indication was made in the plans, overlooking the *cour d'honneur.* The *entresol* was further obscured on the front elevation, where it was masked through its window being incorporated as part of a larger, overall window, which included the window of the room on the floor below it. The height of this "window" was such that on the façade it appeared identical in the horizontal continuum of windows on that floor (fig. 29d). Laugier (1765), remarks of such "hidden" *entresols:* "*Si la commodité demande des entresols, l'exactitude de l'ordonnance exige que ces entre-sols ne soient point-marqués sur la façade, parce qu'ils ne peuvent que déranger la régularité des proportions.*"[155] That is, the rules of architecture had to be adhered to while *commodité* of users was catered for.

Quatremère de Quincy was more explicit in his reservations about the multiplication of *entresols* in grand houses: "*...Deux* entresols *au-dessus l'un de l'autre donnent l'idée d'une petite maison inscrite dans une grande. Cette répétition dénature le caractère des palais, en gâte l'ordonnance et en rapetisse l'effect.*"[156] Like his other comments, this applied just as easily to

hôtels. His concern with the changed character through subdivision,of large buildings could relate either to internal or to external character. On façades this would amount to repetition of small details and in particular of windows of *entresols.* C-N. Le Doux who dealt partly with abstract, theoretical, and geometrical designs also disapproved of *entresols:* "*...en Italie les divisions sont grandes...en France on les multiplie, on les fatigue, on les contraint tellement dans les étages tronqués* [*i.e. entresols*], *que l'on a compromis la salubrité, la commodité, altéré nos facultés, et détruit la bienfaisance de l'art.*"[157] Many of Le Doux's designs for *hôtels* in Paris in the later half of the eighteenth century were of *plan massé* type.

Despite these reservations, it seems that *entresols* were used ever more frequently as the period progressed by members of the family and other significant dependents of households, and not only by domestic staff. This is clear from J-F. Blondel's description of Louis XIV's, cherished *Maison Royale* at Marly: "*Je ne crois pas devoir vous parler des quatre appartemens du rez-de-chaussée qui, à l'exception de celui du Roi, ont souffert beaucoup de changement depuis que ce Château a été bâti. On a été obligé de pratiquer des entre-sols dont nous sommes devenus idolâtres, et que nos prédécesseurs négligeoient un peu trop...*".[158] Again, even though his comment was directed at a royal building, its relevance lies with the French love of small rooms, previously neglected. J-F. Blondel, in the *Encyclopédie*, stated that such rooms, at Marly, were used by *Madame La Dauphine* and by *Mesdames.*[159]

The practice of reducing the overall dimensions of rooms, while maintaining proportions and *ordonnances* appropriate to both large and small spaces, extended beyond the use of *entresols.* There were situations where the site and the house were extensive. As there was then no need to introduce *entresols*, all spaces were on one level. In such circumstances, to ensure that the height of rooms was suitable to their overall dimensions, J-F. Blondel (1737-8) suggested that false ceilings should be put into small rooms adjoining main rooms.[160] He repeated this proposal in the *Encyclopédie:* "*...pour corriger la trop grande élevation des planchés, qui, dans une piece d'un petit diametre deviendroient desagréables, qu'on ne peut souvent éviter à cause de la grandeur des pieces de société, de parade, etc.*"[161]

Another example, one which demonstrates the acceptability of accommodation on mezzanine floors for honoured dependents of households, is that of the Abbé Alary. Abbé Alary, the

Dauphin's tutor and member of the *Académie Françoise*, lived in the house of *Président* Hénault in the *place Vendôme*, where he lodged in the *entresol.* There he entertained the "*Société de l'entresol* ", initiated and formed in 1697, and named after his *appartement.* This *Société* (much later, and more scientific than the *Société de Rambouillet*), aimed to engage with subjects not covered by the existing *Académies.* Among the first members of the *Société* was the *marquis d'Argenson*; Montesquieu was also reputed to have attended this *Société.*[162]

Attiques

The respectable use of auxiliary spaces was extended beyond *entresols*, to those of attics, as noted in d'Aviler(1710 and later 1760): "*Les personnes qui croient qu'il y a du risque à coucher dans un rez-de-chaussée, se content d'en faire pendant le jour leur appartement de Parade, et se retirent la nuit dans les entre-sols ou dans les Attiques.*"[163] This suggestion of retiring to rooms in either mezzanine or attic clearly did not apply to *domestiques.* No drawings of such attics were appended to the text. In *Cours d'Architecture* (1698), F. Blondel explained the physical distinction between *attiques* and *entresols*, "*...les Attiques font un estage entier quoy qu'il soit plus petit que les autres, au lieu que les Entresols ne font partie que d'un estage coupé...*",[164] but he did not assign them any particular use. J-F. Blondel (1752-6), however, did: "*chambres en galetas, celles qui, dans les mansards ou les combles d'un bâtiment, sont destinées aux Officiers de la maison, ou aux principaux domestiques...dont la commodité seule fait l'objet.*",[165] Aubert de la Chenays-Desbois wrote of men of status (rather than *domestiques*), who found these suitable for their accommodation: "*...aussi n'y a-t-il rien dans la maison des grands, qui soit si propre et si commode que des* attiques, *qui sont cependant des especes de galetas, mais galetas, où on a vu; dans le Louve, loger très commodément Gaston, fils de france, duc d'Orleans, frere de Louis XIV, et le cardinal de Mazarin.*"[166]

Abajour & faux-jour

Great ingenuity was required on the part of designers in placing small and large volumes adjacent to one another in the body of a house. The lighting of small spaces fitted between large ones gave rise to technical as well as aesthetic problems and to their solution. J-F. Blondel's entry "*Entre-sol* " in the *Encyclopédie* discusses this: "*Les* entre-sols *doîvent être dégagés par des éscaliers qui rendent leur communication facile avec les appartemens d'en-bas et avec ceux d'en-haut, en observant qu'ils soient éclarés, soit en lanternes, soit en abajour ou*

autrement." The entry for "*Abajour* ", also by J-F. Blondel, reveals that: "*On appelle aussi* fenêtres en abajour, *le grand vitrail d'une église, d'un grand sallon ou gallerie, lorsqu'on est obligé de pratiquer à cette croisée un glacis* [slope, bank] *à traverse supérieure ou inférieure de son embrasure, pour raccorder l'inégalité de hauteur qui peut se rencontrer entre la décoration intérieure ou éxterieure d'un édifice...*".[167] That is, the external, architectural format of design had to be observed within the accepted French rules, and so did internal spaces. Therefore, for *entresols* to receive direct light, windows had to be devised so as to be undetected on the façade. When d'Aviler wrote the entry for "*Fenestre en abajour*" in his *Dictionnaire* (1691 & later), he remarked that their use was suitable solely for basements, and *offices.* By the time J-F. Blondel was writing, we have seen that this device was also used in the public areas of the building when necessary. On the other hand, where such internal spaces as *entresols* did not receive direct light, some other method was required to resolve the question of lighting. There, in addition to artificial lighting, borrowed light from other spaces was resorted to.

Borrowed light, or *faux-jour,* had already been entered in d'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691): "*une fenêtre percée dans une cloison, pour éclairer un Passage, une Garderobe ou un petit Escalier, qui ne peut avoir du Jour d'ailleurs...*"[168] (repeated almost verbatim by Quatremère de Quincy[169]). Roland Le Virloys (1770-1) referred only to the effect of such a device: "*Lumière sombre et oblique qui donne aux objets une autre couleur que celle qu'ils ont naturellement...*"[170] But J-F. Blondel was more explicit about the usefulness of borrowed light in houses. In *Traité de L'Architecture dans le Goût Moderne* (1737-8) he described an actual situation where this device was put into practice and how: "*... Derriere cette Chambre de Parade est pratiqué une Garderobe...qui reçoit du jour par les dessus de porte des lieux à soupape...où au lieux de Tableaux on a mis des Glaces, derriere lesquelles on peut placer des étoffe de Gaze, afin que ces dessus de porte paroissent moins nuds en dedans de la piece, et laissent cependant pacer le jour, comme on le pratique à la plûpart des maisons modernes de Paris, dont le terrain est souvent trop borné, pour qu'on puisse y construire des Garderobes qui prennent leur jour sur les façades principales; ce qui donne lieu à les placer dans l'épaiseur des pieces quand les Bâtimens sont doubles*"[171] (figs. 30a; 30b). His entry "*faux-jour* " in the *Encyclopédie*, clarified his enthusiasm for this device which he considered a vital contributory factor in the advancement of internal *Distributions* of French *hôtels:* "*Les* faux jours *sont sur-tout d'un grand secours dans la distribution pour communiquer de lumiere dans les petites*

pieces pratiquées entre les grandes: on a hésité long-tems à en faire usage; cependant l'on doit dire que c'est à ces faux-jours *que l'on doit la plus grande partie des commodités qui font le mérite de la distribution françoise."*[172]

It seems therefore that for J-F. Blondel, the use of borrowed light in French houses, when required, brought about progress through the evolution of improved *distribution*. His enthusiasm for *faux-jour* , and the other devices just mentioned, seems to have stemmed from the possibilities they opened for complex house designs, in which both small and large spaces were made use of within the overall volume of a single house. Such complex solutions to the problems caused by having rooms of very different sizes made possible the harmonious coexistence of large impressive rooms and comfortable, intimate private rooms within the same *hôtel* . These show the means by which designers managed to sustain both exteriors, and interiors that adhered to the rules of architecture, on the one hand, and the comfort of living in them, on the other. The deliberate slight inconsistency between interiors and exteriors ensured that each part of a building presented a harmonious and complete unity when seen on its own.

APPARTEMENTS SUBDIVISIONS

The French practice of naming spaces on house-plans goes back to the *Livre d'Architecture* (1551), in which Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau (c.1510 - c.1585) made use of the expressions *Salle, chambre, garderobbe, cabinet, cuisine, oratoire, gallerie,* and *terrassses.*[173] Pierre Le Muet (1623 & 1647) annotated his plans with *Salle, chambre, privé, escallier, cabinet, cuisine, garderobe, gardemanger, gallerie, vestibulle, salle a manger* (fig. 31).[174] Room labels, especially those used by Le Muet, suggest that they were not used for any exclusive, specific activity, but were instead multi-purpose spaces. Le Muet, who marked the location of beds on plans, showed them in most rooms labelled *chambre.* Savot's early anatomy of houses (1624) described the position of furniture and windows, in rooms, and thus the multi-purpose use of rooms labelled *chambre:* "*Celle* [window] *qui doit éclairer le long de la table doit être située de même qu'il a esté dit traitant de celle de la salle, sinon qu'on en peut avoir deux pour jour de table, à cause de la place du lict.*"[175] The early, mixed use of rooms was also shown in engravings of interiors, such as those by Abraham Bosse (1602-1676), who portrayed a bed in most rooms, irrespective of the rest of the activities going on in them (fig. 32).

By the late eighteenth century Le Camus de Mezières (1780), provides a clear designation of use for the *chambre-à-coucher*, as well as of an additional private space: the *boudoir.* He also lists and expounds on individual living quarters for several dependent members of the household (*see above,* p 135),[176] and on bathrooms, dining-rooms and other main rooms.[177]

As this thesis is concerned primarily with the living-quarters of *hôtels*, and with the changes that occurred in them, main rooms are relevant only in so far as they were used for both public affairs and private living. Those public spaces which had to be traversed to reach the private ones will therefore be considered. Then the means of communication between spaces will be addressed, and specific spaces, in the private areas of *hôtels* are examined.

Vestibule & anti-chambre

The *Vestibule* was the first space which unfolded as one entered an *hôtel.* Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* (1690) said of it: "*Entrée dans un bâtiment qui est devant des sales et aupres de l'escalier. Les Vestibules servent pour la magnificence, sont ordinairement entre la cour et le jardin.*" D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691) embraced a wider field, to include its derivation: "*...c'etoit chez les Anciens, un grand espace vuide devant la Porte ou à l'éntrée d'une Maison, qu'ils appelloient* atrium propatulum et vestibulum*...le Vestibule estant aujourd'hui dans un logis, un lieu ouvert au bas d'un grand escalier, pour servir de passage à diverses issuës, c'est dés ce lieu qu'on commence à laisser trainer les robes, pour les visites de ceremonies...*". Roland Le Virloys translated it into English as "porch", which he described: "*Lieu couvert dans un édifice, d'où l'on communique aux escaliers et à divers appartmens.*" From the *Vestibule* one would progress either into an *Anti-chambre,* or up the main stairs (depending on the layout of the house) to another *Anti-chambre* at the top. The proliferation of *Anti-chambres* following beyond the *vestibule*, were a determinant factor of the *hôtel* form, and consequently of the way of life in it.

The term *Antichambre*, does not appear in the house plans of Le Muet's first, 1623 publication, of *Maniere de Bien Bastir povr tovtes sortes de Personne.* In the enlarged 1647 edition of this work, some new plans included spaces labelled *Antichambre*, but they appear very sparingly and mostly on the first floor. Savot (1624), on the other hand, mentions a whole variety of anterooms: *antisalles*, *anticabinets* and *antichambres*, the use of which he qualifies: "*Les*

antisalles, anticabinets, arrieregarderobes, ne sont convenables qu'aux plus grands Seigneurs."[178] In d'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691), *anti-chambre* is described as a "*Grande piece de l'appartement qui précede la chambre...Vitruve l'apelle* antithalamus."[179] The *Anti-chambre* which he showed on the ground floor plan (fig. 33), drawn as an explanatory device for his teaching, could double as a *Salle pour manger* .[180] Thus spaces were not assigned specific usages.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the number of *antichambres* in houses have increased considerably for the enactment of the increased formality. J-F. Blondel (1752-6), who agreed that the *antichambre* was normally the second room of a building, reached via the *vestibule*, added that there were three different types of *antichambres:* the first *antichambres*, assigned to livery servants, could be simply decorated, with a stove instead of a fireplace and without parquet, paintings or expensive furniture. The second *antichambres*, for the use of *valets*, was to have large fireplaces but no mirrors and tapestries rather than wood panelling. At times these rooms were used as dining rooms or *chambres en dais*, and the decoration had to reflect this diversity of uses. The third *antichambres*, normally assigned as waiting-rooms for people from outside on official business with the master of the house, were thus also known as *Salles d'assemblée;* they were to be spacious and of a regular shape, in order to contain a large number of seats. Their decoration was to reflect their use. Strict symmetry had to be observed in these rooms;[181] Blondel further reflected on their location within *hôtels* and within *appartements*, in general, he thought that *Antichambres* should not be placed in the continuum of the *enfilade* of the principal *appartements* , as their function would interfere with the family's freedom of movement between *appartements* because of the presence of outsiders and domestics.[182] Le Camus de Mezières repeated the number, and functions of *Antichambres* detailed by J-F. Blondel.[183]

In contrast to the obvious increase in the number of *antichambres*, in plans and writings of the later part of the period, a different strand of thought, if largely theoretical at the time, is expressed in d'Aviler's enlarged *Cours d'Architecture* of 1710. The new chapter "De la Nouvelle Maniere de Distribuer les Plans", stressed the author's disapproval of the proliferation of such spaces: "*Le nombre des Vestibules et Anti-Chambres, qu'on appelle pieces perdues, parce qu'elles ne servent en partie que pour les domestiques n'est pas si considerables dans ce*

genre de batiment" (fig.34).[184] In the specific example of the *hôtel*-plan in d'Aviler (1710 and later), the *vestibule d'entrée* led to two *antichambres*, one to the right, the other to the left. "Each *anti-chambre* is for the joint usage of two *appartemens,* one *de parade,* the other *de commodité.* In this way the four main *appartement*, have but a single entrance, and share three *anti-chambres,* between them, where normally there would be eight *pieces inutiles ou perdues*, known by that name *parce qu'elles ne servent en partie que pour les domestiques*"[185] But this was not aplicable to the generality of Parisian *hôtels.*

Waiting in *antichambres*, it seems, could take some time. De Courtin's *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnestes gens* (1671) informs its readers that it was impolite to pace up and down when waiting in *antichambres*; that it was so unacceptable that in the King's residence, where such pacing was forbidden, it might provoke a reprimand from the *Huissiers*, and one might even be asked to leave. It was also considered inappropriate to either sing or whistle while waiting there. The same advice was repeated in the anonymous manual *La Civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnêtes gens, pour l'Education de la Jeunesse* of 1772.[186] Though de La Salle's (1774) edition of *Les Regles de la Bienscéance et de la Civilité Chretienne* does not specifically mention the *antichambre*, it does say that when waiting in a room, it was uncivil to sing, whistle, touch the furniture, or look out the window.[187] Naturally, one's hat had to be off from the point of entry into the house, and one was not to give the impression that one was bored or agitated.

Manuals for the education of children (and others), like the work of de La Salle, French translations of Erasmus's *La Civilité Puérile* and others, lay great stress on bodily behaviour; one was not to fidget, pull faces, screw up one's eyes or look untidy. This unacceptable disturbance of tranquillity and symmetry in the appearance of a man could, in Erasmus's view, indicate a deeper disquiet: "*L'âme a son siége dans le regard* "[188] and: "*...les gestes moussades gastent souuent nõ seulement la cõtenãce & maintien des yeux, mais aussy de tout le corps...*",[189] a similar view appeared in the earlier versions of de La Salle's *Les Regles de la Bienscéance et de la Civilité Chrétienne.*[190] At a time when much was being made of external appearances as indications of a person's internal character, it seemed most important to remain still and maintain a bodily and facial composure so as not to disrupt the visual harmony which might offend or shock: "*Ces personnes, dont le Visage change à chaque occassion qui se presente, sont trés*

incommodes & on a bien de peine à les suporter...".[191]

COMMUNICATION & MEANS OF CIRCULATION

The diverse means of progressing through spaces in *hôtels*, like room usage, affected the mode of behaviour within the spaces concerned. As long as reaching the space beyond involved passing through an intermediary room, no real privacy could be catered for. The increased independence of spaces from one another, made possible through the subdivision of the depths of the *corps-de-logis*, saw the emergence of greater complexity in the *distribution* of spaces and of access to them. This development of physical separation between spaces in turn encouraged separation between *hôtel* users. Those whom the owners wished to exclude from the private spaces were led exclusively through public ones. Such visitors and spaces could be avoided, however, by taking private, diversionary routes. On the other hand, staff could use these routes in pursuit of their duties behind the scenes. Thus a greater segregation developed between house owners, staff, and visitors, a segregation which contributed to increasingly formal behaviour within the society that inhabited Parisian *hôtels particuliers.*

Main stairs

Main stairs were first integrated into the interior of French *hôtels* in the early seventeenth century; in their new position they split the *corps-de-logis* in half, with two separate areas left on either side. With this arrangement it was common for the master of the house to occupy the *appartement* to one side of the stairs while the mistress occupied the *appartement* on the other side.[192] F. Blondel (1683 & 89), lamented the displacement of the principal stairs, which occurred in stages. Originally they were placed in a tower attached to the outside face of the *corps-de-logis;* they were thus externally visible and identifiable. Later, main stairs were integrated into the *corps-de-logis*; where, as mentioned, they were placed at its centre. During F. Blondel's time, they were moved again, this time to one end of the *corps-de-logis*, at the corner where it joined one of the wings. He considered the latter move a regressive step, introduced to France from Italy, where its sole purpose was to encourage ceremony and ostentation. Such concerns, he believed, took up much of the Italians' time and interest.[193] Tiercelet (1728) considered that the main stairs, the part of the building most in use, needed to be placed in a prominent spot. At the centre of the *corps-de-logis*, they were visible as one entered the building.[194] Like F. Blondel, he disapproved of the displacement of the stairs and

the creation of long *enfilades.*[195]

By placing the main stairs, and with them the *vestibule*, at one end of the *corps-de-logis*, and further by aligning the doors to all the rooms on a floor, a perspective of a one directional, processional route could be created. J-F. Blondel (1771-7) considered that external stairs disfigured façades.[196] In (1752-6) he also expressed the view that main stairs placed at the centre of a building blocked the *enfilade* from the court to the garden.[197] From which one might conclude that the new location of the main stairs at one end of the *corps-de-logis* met with his approval, as a positive improvement of *hôtel distribution.* He thought that these stairs should be placed on the right side of the *corps-de-logis,* viewed from the courtyard and that this seemed more natural, possibly due to custom. He thought they might also be located in one of the wings beyond the *corps-de-logis*, as at the *Hôtel de Belleisle* (fig. 77a).[198]

Enfilade

Where single rooms occupied the entire depth of the *corps-de-logis* (*simple*) there was but one option for proceeding through the building; one needed to pass through each room, in order to reach the next. When more than one space occupied the depth of the building (*corps-de-logis double, semi-double,* as well as *triples, quadruples, quintuples*, to quote J-F. Blondel) more options opened up. One could move sideways as well as forwards within the body of the house, in order to get from one room to another.

People needed to move through rooms in the *corps-de-logis* in all its forms; however, the point of entry from one space into the next had to be decided. One possibility was to align the doors of successive, adjacent rooms in the continuum. This formed an *enfilade* (i.e. *disposition de plusieurs choses qui vont de suite, ou de droit fil*),[199] and was possible in *corps-de-logis* of any subdivision. The term *enfilade* does not appear in Félibien's dictionary (1676), nor is it mentioned by F. Blondel (1683 & 89). D'Aviler (1691) described this architectural *disposition* as "*...l'alignement de plusieurs Portes ensuite dans un appartement.*"[200] The *enfilade* as a means of circulation between rooms in Parisian *hôtels* (especially in the public areas) was attributed to the *marquise de Rambouillet*, together with the displacement of the main stairs to one end of the *corps-de-logis.* Like some of her other innovations, the *enfilade* became fashionable and was an important element in the *distribution* of Parisian *hôtels* both for architects and for *hôtel*

owners.

Because of the prominence of *enfilades* in the Parisian *hôtel* design of the period, it is interesting to note a contemporary Englishman's opinion on the subject. Though Wotton's remarks in *The Elements of Architecture* (1624) were based on Italian buildings, the characteristics he discusses are easily discernible as those of *enfilades* in French buildings from the early seventeenth century onwards: "Now touching the distribution of *Lodging* chambers; I must here take leaue to reprooue a fashion, which I know not how hath preueiled through *Italie*, though without ancient examples, as farre as I can perceiue by *Vitruuius.* The thing I meane, is, that they so cast their *Partitions* as when all *Doors* are open, a man may see through the whole *House;* which doth necessariely put an intollerable seruitude vpon all *Chambers* saue the *Inmost*, where none can arriue, but through the rest; or else the *Walles* must be extreame thicke for secret passages. And yet this also will not serue the turne, without at least *Three* doores in euery *Roome:* A thing most insufferable, in cold & windie Regions, and euery where noe small weakening to the whole *Worke;* Therefore with vs that want no cooling, I cannot commend the direct opposition of such *Ouertures*, being indede meerely grounded vpon the fond ambition of displaying to a *Stranger* all our *Furniture* at one *Sight*, which therefore is most maintained by them theat meane to harbour but a few; whereby they make onely aduantage of *vanitie*, and seldome prouve the *Inconuenience.* There is likewise another defect (as absurdities are seldome solitarie) which will necessarily follow, vpon such a seruile disposing of inward Chambers. That they must bee forced to make as many common great *Roomes*, as there shalbe seuerall *Stories* ; which (besides that they are vsually darke, a point hardly auoided, running as they doe, through the middle of the whole *House*) doe likewise deuoure so much Place, that thereby they want other *Galleries*, and Roomes of *Retreate*, which I haue often considered among them (I must confesse) with no small wonder; for I obserue no *Nation* in the World, by Nature more *priuate* and *reserued*, than the *Italian*, and on the other side, in no *Habitations* lesse *priuacie;* so as there is a kinde of Conflict, betweene their *Dwelling* and their *Being*:..".[201]

This description, taken in relation to eighteenth-century Parisian *hôtels particuliers* shows, I believe, a definite evolution and improvement over time. This evolution owed much to the introduction of the subdivision in depth of the *corps-de-logis*, subsidiary means of circulation, and the use of rooms in *entresols* by members of the family; a development which redressed the

balance between Dwelling and Display, with a sustained equilibrium of Being.

At the end of the period, Quatremère de Quincy also expressed reservations about *distributions* based on *enfilades*, which he deemed obsolete in France. For him "*L'inconvénient des appartemens en enfilade est surtout sénsible dans les habitation d'une modique étendue.*" and: "*Plus la commodité des distributions interieures a fait des progrès dans les maisons particlières, plus on s'est déshabitué des enfilades. Ajoutons aussi que ce genre de distribution est monotone et se prête peu aux ressources que le génie de la décoration fait tirer de la variété même des formes dont chaque pièce peut être susceptible.*"[202] He further implied that use of *enfilades*, in Italy, stressed their monotony and inconvenience: "*L'Italie...où le caractère des appartemens est le plus noble...ils sont pour l'ordinnaire disposées en enfilade...En général, ceux qui sont habitués aux petites recherches des distributions d'appartemens François, trouvent les distributions de ceux de l'Italie monotones et peu commodes...*".[203] Writers from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth century agree that although the *enfilade* might have suited Italy,quite apart from its monotony it was not suited to the colder climates of France and England. Despite such disapprovals, the *enfilade* became a prominent feature in the internal *distribution* of main rooms of Parisian *hôtels*.

Admission into rooms depended on the status of those who entered them as well as on their relation to the house owner.[204] Those invited farther into the house would see subsequent spaces in the *enfilade*. De La Salle (1729) advised that even after one had been admitted to a room, one should remain near the door if the person one had come to consult was occupied with others. There one should wait till the others had ceased talking, or till the person one had come to see advanced or indicated that one should advance.[205] Where doors stood open, however, in an *enfilade*, it was possible to see into rooms beyond those into which one was actually admitted, and the visitor would be aware that entry was by invitation only.

When walking within a house, according to *La Civilité Nouvelle* (1671) whose author is known only as L.D.L.M., one should position oneself to the left of a superior. However, to avoid cumbersome changes at every turn, one might start on the left and remain on the same side throughout. "*En allant ou se promenant par la maison...cet assez de se mettre à la gauche au commemncement, puis demeurer là où l'on se trouuve; ce qui se peut encore garder estant*

avec ses superieurs...".[206] He also expressed the view that a person visiting an equal should treat the house owner as his superior. The correct behaviour when walking in a street, according to de Courtin (1672) and others (*see also* p 115), was to leave the higher ground to the person of greater status. He suggested a similar arrangement when pacing a room, with the bed marking the higher ground. If, the room-layout, however, made it impossible to walk about while using the bed for this purpose, one should use the door as the point of orientation.[207] When walking inside a house one should take care: "*...d'avoir un marcher modeste, ne frapant point fortement le plancher, ou la terre, ne trainenant point aussi les pieds, ne marchant point, comme si l'on dançoit, ne marquant point la cadance de la teste, ou des mains; mais se retenant en soy-même & marchant docement, sans tourner la veuë, ça & la.*"[208] Here the notion of harmony through poise and composure seems to be applied even to people in motion.

Dégagement

To ensure a means of communication apart from *enfilades*, at least in parts of *hôtels*, a system of disengagement (*dégagement*) between spaces was developed in French houses. This system increased the complexity of the Parisian *hôtel* and of human interaction in it. The full display of pomp was possible in the public rooms *en enfilade*, used in the service of the Office. Additional, secondary exits for the use of members of the household only were fitted in main rooms. Through these they could enter and leave public rooms without going through the *enfilade*. This option, which increased convenience in *hôtels* had already been implied by Savot: "*Or il faut noter que le cabinet, et chambre principale d'vn Seigneur, doiuent tousiours auoir aupres quelque eschappée secrette, soit par vne montée, ou entrée en d'autres chambres, desquelles il puisse sortir quelquefois sans estre apperceu de ceux qui attendent...*".[209] The use of these devices introduced a flexibility which lay partly in the hands of the designing architects, and partly with those who commissioned *hôtels* from them.

The view down the length of an *appartement* or a room was neither necessary nor desirable in the private sections of an *hôtel*. Instead of circulation along a straight line between doors at either end of a series of rooms, communication between private rooms could be improved by breaking up the continuum. Thus doors would be located so that one had to turn a corner between the exit of one room and the entrance to the next (*see* Chapter IV, on **doors** pp 190). There was consequently no visual continuity through such successive rooms. This affected

hôtel distribution in two ways. Firstly, despite the visual discontinuity between rooms, non-visual, physical continuity between spaces was possible (i.e. by turning a corner). Secondly, the concept of discontinuity led to the introduction of intermediary elements between spaces. This made rooms independent of one another. These intermediary elements between rooms were known to the French as *dégagements.*

There were different kinds of *dégagements*, some for vertical, others for horizontal access. The horizontal access could be a *corridor*, *passage* or *dégagement*, depending on its length. Horizontal *dégagements* will be discussed first.

Savot (1624) (as just mentioned) had proposed the element of *dégagement* for masters' convenience before the noun came into use. Le Muet (1623; 1647) also indicated the importance of *dégagement:* "*Que les appartemens* (i.e. rooms) *soient assis, les uns aupres des autres, selon le besoin qu'ils sont l'un de l'autre, et degagez entr'eux le plus que faire se pourra.*"[210] The only auxiliary space used to connect major spaces in Le Muet's plans for private houses (1623) was the *passage.* Félibien's dictionary (1676) did not include the term *dégagement*, but said of *passage:* "*...petits lieux qui servent qu'à dégager une chambre d'avec une autre.*"[211] D'Aviler (1691) described *dégagement:* "*...dans un Appartement un petit passage, ou un petit Escalier par lesquel on peut s'échaper sans repasser par les même pieces*", a description which Quatremère de Quincy (1788-1825) repeated almost verbatim.[212]

Corridors to break up the continuum of interlocking spaces also appeared in Félibien's dictionary (1676): "*espece de gallerie...vient de l'Espagnol* coredor. D'Aviler's (1691) version reads: "*de l'Italien* corridore, *Galerie; c'est une Allée entre un ou deux rangs de Chambres, pour les communiquer et les dégager, comme les* corridors *de l'Hôtel Roial des Invalides à Paris.*" In his own examples which supplemented his original *Cours d'Architecture*, *corridors* do not feature in layout plans, except on the lower ground floor labelled "*l'étage Souterrain ou des Offices*" (fig. 35).[213] On the upper floors, the only form of *dégagement* he uses for discontinuous circulation is the *passage*, which he defines: "*...dans une Maison, une Allée differente du corridor, en ce qu'elle n'est pas si longue.*"[214]

In the plans with which J-F. Blondel illustrated a *Maison de Plaisance* in his *Traité d'Architecture*

dans le Gout Moderne (1737-8) (figs. 36; 37), *corridors* were also not used, only *passages*, and *dégagements.* His disapproval of *corridors* was clearly expressed in his writings: "*La dépense de pratiquer plusieurs Escaliers de dégagement dans un bâtiment, évite l'usage des corridors au premier étage, qui outre le désagrément d'occuper du terrain, ont encore celui de ne pouvoir y marcher sans interrompre ceux qui habitent les chambres voisines à qui ces corridors donnent issuë.*"[215] Only Briseux seems to have considered the *corridor* a valid solution in house planning, as seen in many of the model plans in his *L'Art de Bâtir des Maisons de Campagne* (1761), where he also stated that "*Les Corridors donnant la facilité de faire beaucoup de petits appartemens de Maîtres, à chacun desquels on peut faire des dégagemens, on s'est mis dans l'usage d'en pratiquer à toutes les Maisons de Campagne.*" Nonetheless, he appears to share the reservations voiced by others: "*Néanmoins le bruit qui en provient, incommodant les Maîtres qui couchent au premier etage, quelques personne ont pensé que plusieurs Escaliers, pour monter aux différens appartemens, y procureroient beaucoup plus de repos et seroient plus utiles qu'un Corridor.*"[216] The last consideration exemplifies the flexibility in planning (*distribution*) of *appartements*, and subsequently of complete *hôtels.* A flexibility in the use of auxiliary spaces which introduced the option of horizontal or vertical solutions to the problems of circulation between rooms.

The secondary stairs used for auxiliary vertical circulation were described by d'Aviler (1691) as "*escalier secret ou derobé, celui qui sera dégager et à monter aux entre-soles, garderobes, et même aux appartemens, pour ne point passer par les principales pieces.*"[217] D'Aviler (1710-1760), added that "*Pour remédier à cette incommodité* [*grand bruit*], *l'on pose des dalles de pierre sur toutes les marches de charpente*",[218] a constructional solution to the problem of noise on timber stairs: flagstones placed over the wood treads.

Illustrations of *hôtels* in published treatises, courses on architecture, pattern books and display publications generally included only the plans of main floors. This makes it difficult to know for certain what the houses were originally like. The layout of intermediary floors, i.e. *entresols*, was left to the imagination of readers, students and builders. Although the omission of these plans is nowhere explained, there would appear to be more reasons: firstly, these areas were not considered worthy of much attention, as may be deduced from J-F. Blondel's (1737-8) comment on private rooms: "*Comme dans les chambres à coucher et des autres pieces, qui ne*

composent pas les Appartemens de Parade, on fait ordinairement servir les meubles tels qu'on les a, j'ai crû qu'il étoit inutile de m'étendre sur leur décoration."[219] Just as he thought it a wasted effort to discuss their decoration, so too the presentation of the plans of private *appartements en entresol* seemed redundant to him, and they were not included in his treatise. Secondly, the presentation of such plans involved a technical problem not totally compatible with large-scale book production (*see* Chapter V).

It was left to Le Camus de Mezières (1780) to convey the effect of the mystery or magic, of disappearance and reappearance, achieved through *dégagements: "...c'est une chose aisé à pratiquer & par le moyen de laquelle il* [the master of the house] *semblers passer à travers l'épaisseur des murs; & les pénétrer dans leur longueurs...".*[220] This disappearing act was just as possible for other members of the household as it was for the owners.

PRIVATE SPACES

Chambres

From writings of the early seventeenth century and from annotated plans it is clear that some main rooms, such as *chambres de parade*, were used for sleeping amongst other things. But houses with a *corps-de-logis simple*, in which one room had to be traversed in order to get into the next (such as the Hôtel de Carnavalet), did not endure in France. The need and desire for comfort and protection from cold weather, which large rooms did not satisfy, led to the eventual transformation of the *hôtel particulier.* This in turn transformed the way of life in *hôtels* once private activities were moved away from public spaces. At the end of the eighteenth century Quatremère de Quincy summed up the need for smaller rooms and greater convenience: "*...la mode des grandes pièces ne fut point de durée dans un pays où le climat devoit produire l'usage inverse de l'Italie, c'est-à-dire, de ne bâtir que pour l'hiver. Le besoin, ce tyran des art, dût forcer les architectes à adopter les petites distributions dans lesquelles l'Architecture a bien moins d'essor à prendre...C'est donc presque uniquement dans la Distribution que l'architecte peut aujourd'hui faire preuve d'intelligence, de goût et de sagacité.*"[221] He considered large rooms suitable to the warmer climate of Italy, but unsuitable to the colder climate of France. There, he thought it appropriate and more congenial to make use of smaller spaces. In contrast to Quatremère de Quincy, who stressed the opportunity for architects to demonstrate their excellence in their art, Le Camus de Mezières, also at the end of the period, seems to have

considered house users: "*...malgré ces nombreux et vastes logemens, il y a encore de petits appartemens où on a le soin de faire trouver tout ce que la commodité, l'aisance et le luxe peuvent faire desirer. Aussi ces petits appartemens sont-ils plus fréquentés que les grands, la nature conduit à cette préférence.*"[222]

Le Muet (1623 & 1647) annotated his plans, designating the uses of specific spaces (fig. 31). Some types of space appear on every plan, others only on some plans. The ones that appear only in the plans of more spacious houses were labelled *Salle* in the 1623 edition and were used more for official receptions; in the 1647 edition, *Galleries* were added for similar purposes. The spaces which appear in every plan include *privés, escalliers, garderobes, cabinets*, as well as *chambres*. His plans show the location of beds; they appear in *chambres*, and in some *garderobes.* From research based on inventory taken after deaths, Pardailhé-Galabrun remarked that beds were found in a variety of spaces in houses including *cabinets*, kitchens and shops.[223] This means that the labelling of spaces on plans, did not necessarily indicate their actual use, and mixed-activity rooms were commonplace.

Such mixed use is evident from the inventory of the Hôtel de Rambouillet which records the bed used by the *marquise* when entertaining friends.[224] Madelene de Scudéry, referring to the *marquise* as Cléomire, in *Le Grand Cyrus*, mentions her delicate physique as the cause for her rare ventures out of doors.[225] Visitors to the *salon* or *chambre bleue* were seated in the *ruelle* (the area between the bed and the wall), to avoid the draughts.[226] That is, the *ruelle* was designed to create some *commodité* in the bedroom (i.e. avoiding draughts and entertaining close friends while in bed). When the Jesuit Abbé Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegarde (1648-1734) writes in *Modeles de conversations pour les personnes polies* (1725): "*...c'est dans les ruelles des femmes polies, que l'on proscrit les mots nouveaux et les nouvelles phrase...*",[227] he seems to be referring to imitators of the *marquise.*

Savot (1624) also deals with some practical aspects of *chambres:* he writes that in France they were normally square and measured between 18 and 30 *pieds* in each direction (princes' rooms could be even larger). He follows this by estimating that at least eleven *pieds* were needed to accommodate a *ruelle*, a bed and a chair. Since the fashion in France encouraged placing beds so that they faced the windows, a *ruelle* (some four to six *pieds* wide) had to be left between the

wall that contained the chimney-piece and the bed. This new position, according to Savot, made it easier to receive and entertain friends from one's bed, away from the fireplace. He added that on the the side of the room diagonally opposite the bed, one ought to leave at least three *pieds* by five for a *couchette* (*couchette*, being the diminutive of *couche*[228]) in case it was needed in the room.[229] The term *chambre* according to Félibien (1676), was derived from "*...cambrer, & courber à cause de voutes...*" but he remarked that it applied to any room, whether vaulted or with a flat ceiling.[230] D'Aviler (1691) added "*...la principale piece d'un appartement & la plus necessaire de l'habitation.*"[231] Furetière, in (1690), was still defining *chambre* with its earlier, mixed use: "*Membre d'un logis, partie d'un appartement. C'est ordinairement le lieu ou en couche, et ou on reçoit companie...*", which relates to the earlier mixed use.[232]

In contrast, J-F. Blondel's explanation (1752-6) shows the changes that had occurred with time: "*..Il faut neanmoins sçavoir que pour qu'une piece soit nommé Chambre, elle doit servir au repos, toutes les autres pieces d'un appartement doivent avoir des dénominations particulieres relatives à leur usage, malgré l'opinion des Anciens à cet égard, qui appelloient indistinctement Chambres, toutes les pieces habitées par les maîtres, à l'exception des Vestibules, des Salons, des Péristyles et des Galeries, auquels nous donnons avec plus de vraisemblances les noms d'Antichambres, de Salles d'Assemblée, de Cabinets, etc.*"[233] Roland Le Virloys (1770-1) and Quatremère de Quincy (1788-1825) included a similar usage of *chambre* (sleep, and rest). By the mid eighteenth century the term *chambre* no longer applied simply to a room, but specifically to a bedroom.

Nonetheless, the more specific expression *chambre-à-coucher*, was still used, as J-F. Blondel notes: *L'on entend sous le nom de Chambre-à-coucher proprement dite, une piece dont le lit est isolé et toujours située en face des croisées, à moins que par quelque sujettion involontaire on ne soit obligé de le placer dans un des angles de la piece, où la commodité devienne préferable à la régularité; mais à parler juste, cette situation n'est tolérable que dans la chambre d'un appartement privé, et non dans une piece qui se trouve dans l'enfilade principale d'un bâtiment.*[234] Le Camus de Mezières discusses the isolation of the bed more emotively: "*...lit isolé, placé, ainsi que nous l'avons observé, dans le fond de la piece, et comme dans le sanctuaire du temple, au surplus, c'est de sa richesse, c'est de sa magnificence que toute la*

piece doit prendre son ton de décore."[235] At which point one wonders whether he was speaking of sleep. He expresses his reservations about bedrooms being situated among the main rooms, and stresses the new awareness of the individual: "*...Chambre-à-coucher, à la suite des grands appartemens, ne sert souvent que de parade. Elle est trop vaste. On aime mieux occuper un endroit dont le plancher soit peu élevé, où l'on soit bien clos, où on puisse être à soi-même.*" But this was not to be at the expense of internal, architectural rules: "*Quoi qu'il en soit, par bienséance et par usage, il faut une chambre-à-coucher qui réponde au reste de l'appartement, elle ne sera que de parade si l'on veut, c'est une raison de plus pour lui donner un caractere qui inspire le repos...*".[236] He also thought that in large rooms man found himself disproportionate: "*...l'homme se trouve disproportionné. Les objets sont trop éloignés de lui...*".[237] His views confirmed the belief then general that even comfortable, small rooms had to conform, architecturally, to the overall character of the *appartement*, in which they were lodged (*see* Chapter IV, pp 208-9; 211-2; 214-5; 225).

Besides the bedroom or "*palais du sommeil* " as Le Camus de Mezières had termed it, he introduced a further private room, the *boudoir* (a space termed *boudoir* was illustrated much earlier, however, by Mollet *see* fig. 41). This new type of room, was to be "*...le séjour de la volopté; c'est là qu'elle semble méditer ses projets, ou se livrer à ses penchans* " and: "*...retraite délicieuse ne doit occasionner que des émotion douces, porter la sérénité dans l'ame, la volupté dans tous les sens.*"[238] Even though not so specified, it seems to have been the first private room designated specifically for the use of the lady of the house. It came into existence decades after the *cabinets*, some of which were assigned "*pour y traiter d'affaires & conferences particulieres* ", and others "*...seruent à y retirer choses rares & precieuses, comme aussi d'autres commoditez*"[239] and which satisfied, primarily, the needs of the master of the house.

Once J-F. Blondel (1752-6) had established that a *chambre* was a bedroom, he proceeded to distinguish between different types: "*On distingue dans la distribution d'un bâtiment considérable six especes de Chambres, sçavoir qu'on nomme simplement chambres-à-coucher, celles de parade, celles en alcoves, en estrade, en niche et en galetas.*"[240] Further to this, he detailed the differences between them; the room *en galetas* derived its name from its location and the others were distinguished by the types of beds which they contained. Alternatively, he thought one could consider that specific types of bed were suitable for certain

rooms. Beds will be discussed in Chapter IV; here, the rooms themselves are investigated. The *chambre de parade*, for mixed use, was the room which contained the best furniture, and was where the lady of the house would receive ceremonial visits. The bed was ornamented with columns,[241] and the room itself was used for entertainment. In the winters (whose very existence Quatremère de Quincy denied in Italy) she would retire to the warmer *petits appartements*, which were also easier to manage.

In three of the types of *chambre* noted by J-F. Blondel, there was a physical separation between the room proper and the bed enclosure. Various types of separation were used in *chambre en alcove*, *chambre en niche* and to some extent in *chambre en estrade.*

When, at the age of thirty-five, the *marquise de Rambouillet* contracted a physical condition which was triggered off by the sun and heat, she tried to keep warm in her *hôtel* without using heating. Because of this, Tallemant de Réaux believed that "*...La nécessité luy fit emprunter des Espagnols l'invention des Alcoves, qui sont aujoud'hui si fort en vogue à Paris.*"[242] As early as the 1647 edition of Le Muet a *chambre en alcove* is shown in drawings of the Hostel Dauaux (fig. 31).[243] Félibien (1676) gave its Arabic derivation through the Spanish, and defined it as "*le lieu où l'on dort...on nos chambres à coucher, un endroit particulier où le lit est placé. Ordinairement il y a une estrade, & cet endroit est comme séparé du reste de la chambre par les pilastres...qui forment un arc surbaissé ou autre sorte d'ouverture...qui fait le lieu rétiré.*"[244] D'Aviler's examples of his teachings (1691) showed rooms *en alcove* on both the ground and first floor (figs. 33; 38). He considered *alcove* as a part of the bedroom, with the bed "*...sur une Estrade et qui est distingée par quelque décoration.*[245]

D'Aviler annotated the dotted lines in his plans which indicated cornices "*saillie des corniches* " (figs. 33; 38). From these dotted lines it is clear that ceiling cornices in main rooms did not extend into the alcoves attached to them, as in the case of the *chambre de parade* (Room G 3, fig. 39). The dotted lines further clarified that the wall between the room and the alcove had to be lower than the soffit of the ceiling cornice in the room, and that as a result the ceiling in the alcove would be lower (Le Muet's drawings did not indicate ceiling cornices either in plans, or in sections). The lowered ceiling would be in keeping with the architectural rules that prescribed appropriate proportioning of rooms so that a lower ceiling was required in the small alcove than in

the adjacent and much larger room proper.

Architectural rules encouraged the ceiling cornice of the room proper to describe a pure rectangle (Room G 3, fig. 39) and not to extend to recesses. This imparted a sense of regularity to the room, as discussed by Savot.[246] Thus, when one passed through a room with its rectangular cornice, the opening of the alcove would be seen as a framed picture, or as the opening of a proscenium arch, framed as it was by walls at the sides and above, sometimes flanked by columns. Occasionally a step completed the frame at the bottom. Framing the entrance to the alcove set it apart from the room proper and imparted an impression of continuity and perfect form to the room.

When J-F. Blondel, in the *Traité d'Architecture dans le Goût Moderne* (1737-8), illustrated a room *en alcove* (fig. 39), it formed an extension to the *chambre de parade*, like d'Aviler's (fig. 39). True to accepted rules, J-F. Blondel showed on plan the decorative columns at entrance to the alcove (fig. 40a), (d'Aviler's plans showed only the location of four-poster beds in alcoves). J-F. Blondel described rooms *en alcove* in *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6): "*...ne différent des précedentes* (i.e. *de Parade*) *qu'en ce que le lit est enfermé dans les cloisons de menuiserie qui en resserrent l'espace, de maniere à ne lui laisser qu'une place suffisante pour quelque siéges à côté du cheval...*".[247] Le Camus de Mezières remarks that alcoves were not much in use in his time. It was thought that not enough air circulated in them, and that they were inconvenient for *domestiques* to service, especially when the occupant was ill.[248] Although Le Camus de Mezières believed that alcoves were in decline by the end of the eighteenth century, this was not corroborated by Ronald de Virloys, or by Quatremère de Quincy.

The term *chambre en niche* did not appear in d'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691). The plans that accompany J-F. Blondel's *Traité d'Architecture dans le Goût Moderne* (1737-8) include rooms in which the bed is fitted into tight recesses or niches (figs. 40a-b). The niche was considerably less spacious than the alcove. The bed was placed in it sideways and there was no room for chairs. In *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6) he wrote that rooms *en niche* were not suitable for main *enfilades*: "*Les Chambres en niche sont rarement d'usage dans les grandes appartemens; elles sont réservées pour ceux qu'on nomme de commodité ou privés: on leur donne ce nom, parce que le lit est niché dans une espese d'alcove qui le contient, et dont la largeur et la*

hauteur sont égales a celle du lit, qui ordinairement est situé en longueur, et pratiqué à deux chevets...Elles sont ordinairement déstinées pour les petites appartemens adjacens à ceux de parade, ou pour les seconds étages, parce que leur diamétre et la hauteur de leur plancher ne peut entrer en comparaison avec les grands appartemens, à moins que l'élévation de ces derniers ne permette de pratiquer des entre-sols au dessus des Chambres en niche ." This description clearly states that the ceiling over the bed was lower than the ceiling in the rest of the room. There was thus a physical and visual continuity in the room proper and its discontinuity from the niche. Blondel adds that this type of room, which had become very fashionable in France, was harder for domestics to service, so that the practice evolved of enclosing beds in niches with movable partitions or curtains. This arrangement was particularly suitable in cases where niches backed onto *garderobes* or suitable *dégagements*, so that when making the bed the servants did not need to be pull it out into the middle of the room.[249]

Another recessed area in rooms mentioned in d'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691) but which appeared neither in his architectural writings nor in any other architectural treatise is the *reduit* or *réduit:* "*...un petit lieu retranché d'un grand, pour le proportioner, ou pour quelque autre commodité, comme les petits cabinets à côté des Cheminées & des Alcoves.*"[250] Quatremère de Quincy (1788-1825) added its practical implication: "*Exprime toujours l'idée d'un local retiré, et placé hors de la circulation ordinaire des habitations.*"[251]

D'Aviler(1710-1760), like J-F. Blondel, thought that "*Les grands appartemens sont toujour accompagnées de petites pieces moins exhaussées, où l'on se rétire volontiers pendant l'hiver, parce qu'il est plus facile de les échauffer. On y pratique de petites chambres à coucher, où l'on place les lits dans des niches...Le lit occupe toute la largeurs et la profondeur de ces niches; et comme il est disposé de façon qu'il présente par-devant la face de côté, on y met deux dossiers et deux chevets, afin d'observer une exacte symmétrie...*".[252] Le Camus de Mezières considered that whilst they were less inconvenient than rooms *en alcove*, nonetheless "*on n'y trouvait pas encore toutes les commodités nécessaires* [the comforts which had become such an essential ingredient of private life]; *les garderobes qu'on plaçoit pour l'ordinaire de droite et de gauche s'accordoient mal avec la magnificence d'un lieu de parade.*"[253]

The third type of bedroom, in which the bed area was separated from the room proper while the

overall continuity of the room was maintained, was the *chambre en estrade.* In elaborating on this kind of room J-F. Blondel (1752-6) writes: "*Les Chambres en estrade étoient celles qui avoient un ou plusieurs gradins qui élevoient le lit. Elles étoient en usage dans le siécle dernier...quelquefois l'on y pratiquoit une balustrade ou appui pour renfermer l'enceinte de l'estrade.*"[254] The *estrade* itself consisted of a raised area in the room, reached by steps. The difference in floor level, with the *estrade* higher than the rest of the room, created a physical break between the two. D'Aviler annotates the area in the alcove (Room H 4, fig. 38) *estrade.* Where the *estrade* was in a niche or alcove, it had a lowered ceiling, which increased the visual and physical separation from the rest of the room.

The *boudoir* (fig. 41) which, on the face of it, was a private room according to Le Camus de Mezières's descriptions, was nonetheless bathed in luxury: "*Il est essentiel que tout y soit traité dans un genre où on voie régner le luxe, la mollesse et le goût. Le proportion de l'Ordre Corinthien sont élégantes, elles lui conviennent.*" He suggests a niche for this room in which to place the bed, and an alcove of between ten and twelve *pieds* deep "*...dont les jours seroient bien mélangé, pourroit d'autant mieux réussir, qu'il ajouteoit à l'Air de mystére.*"[255] He also suggested mirrors on the walls and ceiling of this alcove and a cupola at the centre of its ceiling.

Le Camus de Mezières (1780) was the first French architect, as far as I am aware, to mention in a treatise the rooms occupied by children. The arrangements for lesser members of the household helps to complete the view of the workings of *hôtels.* Le Camus de Mezières divided the *appartements* for older children into "*celui des garçons et celui des demoiselles*."[256] The youngest children, however, all lived together: "*...jusqu'à un certain âge, qui est celui de cinq ans, tous les enfans sont ensemble avec une Gouvernante et une Domestique.*" The young children's *appartement*, as mentioned above (*see* p 135), included a large schoolroom and a fairly large *chambre-à-coucher* containing the required number of beds, including a bed for the *Gouvernante.* A separate room was designated for the *domestique* assigned to serve the occupants of this *appartement.*[257]

The *antichambre* and the large schoolroom were heated by the same faience stove. Le Camus de Mezières specifies that the young children's *appartement*, normally on the first floor, should preferably face east for health reasons, which he qualified, poetically: "*...on ne sauroit croire combien cela enflue sur le tempérament: nous sommes des especes de plantes, nous devons*

nous conduire et nous garantir en conséquence des intempéries de l'air et des expositions fâcheuses et mal-saines."[258]

His general view of children's quarters was that: "*l'appartement des enfans ne peut être trop gai...* " He also considered that the combination of agreeable colours, favourable aspect, good air, and cleanliness were: "*...nécessaires à la santé et décident souvent le caractere de la jeunesse, développent ces idées riantes, et occasionnent cet enjovement qui fait dans la suite les charmes de la société.*[259]

Once children had reached a "certain" age presumably the age of five,[260] boys were put under the charge of a *gouverneur*, and sometimes of a *précepteur* and a *laquais.* Though a section was headed *Logement des Demoiselles*, Le Camus de Mezières continued to discuss boys' lodgings in this section, leaving the impression that girls remained in the room which they had occupied previously, still under the supervision of a *gouvernante.* Although he does not specifically mention the age at which boys were first educated separately, it would appear from an earlier statement that the change came at the age of five. On the other hand, La Curne de Sainte-Palaye informs the reader of *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie* (1781) that those who were to become *chevaliers:* "*Dès qu'il avoit attent l'âge de sept ans, on le retiroit des mains des femmes, pour confier aux hommes.*"[261] Irrespective of age, however, of the five rooms which according to Le Camus de Mezières made up the *appartement du Gouverneur*, the large room and the *chambre-à-coucher*, which contained several beds were to face east.

Cabinets

A marked change took place between the early suggestion by Philibert de l'Orme (1568) of a *cabinet* for the private use of kings, princes and *seigneurs* (*see* p 132), and their proliferation in the eighteenth century. These small spaces, became such an essential part of private *appartements*, and of life that Le Camus de Mezières even assigned one, to the first *valet-de-chambre.* That is, by the late eighteenth century even some dependent members of the household might have such small private spaces at their disposal as part of their living quarters.

Savot recognized two types of *cabinet:* "*...les grands et amples, qui apartienent qu'à un Grand, pour y traiter d'affaires et conferences particulieres; les autres sont le plus souvent moindre, qui*

accompagnent une chambre, et servent à y retirer choses rares et precieuses, comme aussi d'autre commoditez." Of the second sort he said that they "*...doivent aussi estre plus petits que la chambre, n'ayant point d'autres mesures prescrites, car on les prend ordinairement tels que la place se presentra.*"[262] That is, they were placed in the space that left after the main rooms had been designed.

Félibien's dictionary (1676) noted that the term *Cabinet* had "*plusieurs significations*", among which he included (and he was the only one to do so), a "*cabinet de conversation*". D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691) ascribed to *cabinet* the quality of being the "*Piece la plus secrete de l'appartement, pour écrire, étudier, et serrer ce qu'on a de plus prétieux.*" Roland Le Virloys (1770-1) translated it into English as "closet", explaining that *cabinet* had several meanings; sometimes it referred to a cupboard fitted with drawers for keeping papers and there were *cabinets* for stamps, medals, and glass. These last were small rooms into which only the select were admitted to admire the contents. Le Camus de Mezières also included space eleven *pieds* wide by fifteen to sixteen *pieds* long by nine *pieds* high, which he labelled *Cabinet de Toilette:* "*...l'endroit où les graces tiennent conseil...*".[263]

Garderobes

Le Muet includes *garderobes* for storing clothes as early as his 1623 edition. Some had beds in them and were thus also used for sleeping, normally by domestic staff). Félibien (1676) describes them thus: "*...petit chambre ou cabinet de commodité, propre à serrer des meubles...aussi...lieu où est la chaise percée.*"[264] D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691) spells out the two usages illustrated by Le Muet, and more: "*Piece de l'Appartement pour serrer les habits, et coucher les Domestiques, qu'on tient auprés de soy. C'est ce que M. Perrault entend dans Vitruve par* cella familiarica*...Le mot garderobe, se prend chez les Italiens, pour Gardemeuble.*" He added that in the *appartements* of kings and princes, their officers were lodged in *garderobes.*[265] The two main uses, from Le Muet onwards, were restated in J-F. Blondel's *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6)[266]

Savot does not discuss the uses of *garderobes*, but he distinguishes them by size. He writes that the smallest should measure at least ten *pieds* in each direction and the largest should not exceed three quarters of the size of the room to which it was attached. He suggested that fireplaces were required in large *garderobes.* In addition he specified that narrow *garderobes*

with very high ceilings could be split up by an *entresol* if they were located near stairs. If the *garderobe* was long and space was needed, he suggested inserting stairs within it.[267]

Le Camus de Mezières (1780) mentions five rooms in the *Logement des enfans*, but he thought it would be useful to have an additional: "*...garderobe éclairée et airée, on y placeroit les tables de nuit et une armoire pour le linge sale.*"[268] Elsewhere he indicates that both *femmes de chambres* and *filles de garderobe* slept in *entresols* above their lady's *garderobes.*[269]

Savot (1624) also mentions of an *arriere-garderobe*, reserved for the use of a *chaise-percée.*[270] For similar use, but more elaborate, was Le Camus de Mezières's (1780) *garderobe de propreté*, which he placed near the *chambre-à-coucher.* He envisaged this space facing north, with the *chaise percée* placed in a niche. It was to be heated by hot pipes from a neighbouring stove and have shelves in its corners for assorted pots and vases. This space, to be painted white or grey, was not to lead to *grands appartemens.*[271]

Toilets

As long as portable *chaises percées* (fig. 42) were in use, they could be used anywhere in the house (the king's *chaise percée* was called a *chaise d'affaires*[272]). There were thus no specific locations for toilets in the houses or in house plans. Only with the introduction of plumbed toilets were their locations fixed, and indicated on plans. Until then, chamber-pots from commodes were emptied onto the streets, often from an upper floor (to the hazard of passers-by), usually after the exclamation "*gardez l'eau*". To put a stop to this sort of thing, an edict of 1608 prohibited the voiding of any refuse and of water of any nature through windows, whether by day or by night.[273] Foul water had nonetheless to be removed from houses. In *L'Architecture Françoise*, Savot includes the chapter: "Qu'il faut sçauoir au parauant que commencer vn bastiment les seruitudes, pour éuiter procés & dommage, & d'où on le pourra appendre." This was followed by another, which includes excerpts from the *Coûtume de Paris*, necessary reading for those undertaking building works.[274] The *seruitudes* expound on the legal implications of building works on adjoining proprietors, with particular stress on party-wall matters. Among these Savot includes some articles concerned with drains and cesspools. The article "*Des anciens fossez communs* idem *que des murs de separation* " deals with the renovation, emptying and maintenance of old, common and shared drains (*fossez*)[275] Another

article on this topic discusses the distance required between the sewers or cesspools and the neighbour's wall (i.e. their distance from the party wall).[276] In general, however, this subject was not central to Savot's work.

D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* (1691) has an entry for *Aisance:* "*Lieu commun ou de commodité, ordinairement au rez-de-chaussee ou pres d'une Garderobe, ou au haut d'un Escalier.*", and referred the reader to his ground floor plan (fig. 33). Here two facilities are shown. One, at the foot of the stairs, is labelled *lunette d'aisance*, and shows a single circular opening. The second, labelled *lieux communs ou latrines*, shows six such openings, separated into two sets of three in a long narrow space. In d'Aviler (1710-1760), a scheme was proposed in which the third *garderobe*, "*lieu de commodité* (not marked "third", on plan) came to replace the mobile facilities with a more permanent solution: "*Au lieu de chaises percées dont on se servoit autrefois, et dont la mauvaise odeur se communiquoit aux appartemens, on creuse présentement des fosses fort profondes, ensorte que l'eau puisse monter, et on leur donne peu d'étendue: on les construit de* moilon *à pieres seches, et l'on y pratique les* ventouses ou barbacanes *a fin que les matieres liquides se mêlant avec l'eau, s'écoulent, et se perdent plus facilement dans les terres par ces ouvertures. Les chausses audessus montent jusques sous le siege d'aisance.*" He continues: "*Comme la maniere de composer ces sortes de lieux est forte nouvelle, en voici le detail. Le siege est semblable à une banquette ou canapé dont le lambris de dessus qui se leve, et se rejoint au siege avec justesse, renferme par-dessous la couvercle de la lunette, posé sur un bourrelet de maroquin. Ce sont ceux qu'on nomme à l'angloise.* "[277]

In his *Traité d'Architecture* (1737-8), J-F. Blondel termed plumbed toilets "*Cabinets ou lieux à Soupape*", because: "*Depuis quelques années ces sortes de pieces sont devenues en France fort en usage dans les maisons de conséquence, elles sont connues sous le nom de lieux à l'Angloise, qui suivant quelques personnes de païs qui m'ont dit en méconnîotre l'usage à Londre, je les ai nommés ici liex à soupape*"(fig. 43).[278] Nonetheless, with regard to his proposed plan for the *rez de chaussée* (fig. 36), he writes: "*Ce dernier dégagement G est d'autant plus utile qu'il n'y a point d'anti-chambre, ni de garderobe ou l'on puisse se soulager des necessitez que le repas peut avoir fait naître, et qu'il est principalement destiné à cette commodité.*[279] That is, he had not provided a plumbed toilet, so that a mobile one had to be used. The *Encyclopédie* said of *lieux à soupape:* "*Ces sortes de pieces font parties des garde-*

robes...".[280]

When Le Camus de Mezières attended to the subject in *Le Guide de ceux qui veulent bâtir* (1781), he recommended placing *cabinets* and *chausses d'aissance* in the corners of multi-storey buildings, and to isolate them to prevent fumes from spreading throughout the building. He considered that stairwells with their relative height would ensure that fumes rose, and it therefore seems that stair landings were considered suitable for toilets. In the *cabinet*, he recommended well plastered walls, with some two to three *pouces* (1*pouce* = 27.07mm) left between the two adjacent glazed wares that were not cracked and had well sealed joints to prevent any leakage. The *cabinets* themselves should be comfortable, with the seat no higher than fifteen *pouces*, and with a good seal; they should receive direct light through windows which should be kept open. According to Le Camus de Mezières, the only *cabinets* that should be built into *appartements* were *cabinet à l'Angloise*, as any others might fail.[281] *Cabinet à l'Angloise*, according to him, fulfilled a similar function to that of the *garderobe de propreté*, only it was more modest.

The new plumbed WC pan was also used as a bidet. J-F. Blondel (1737-8) illustrates this: of which he indicated: "*Q. Petit jet d'eau qui sert à se laver et dont la chute se va perdre dans la chausse d'aisance*" (fig. 43).[282] Le Camus de Mezières also described this double use: "*Il y a encore de petits conduits d'où l'on fait jaillir l'eau lorsqu'on veut se laver, usage qui réunit la propreté & la salubrité. On place pour l'ordinaire un réservoir dans l'entresol au-dessus. La delicatesse y fait pratiquer un cilindre avec du feu, afin que dans l'hiver l'eau ne soit pas froide.*"[283]

The general attitude to hygiene, and above all to when and where it was permissible to relieve oneself, needs to be taken into consideration to get a sense of life in even the finest houses at the time. The chronicler, A. Franklin, for instance, quotes Furetière, who divulged that the *comte de Brancas*, *chevalier d'honneur* of Anne of Austria: "*...quitta un jour la main de la reine pour aller pisser contre la tapisserie,*" as well as other incidences of behaviour in the same vein.[284] This kind of behaviour would presumably be considered out of place once toilets became an unquestioned and indispensable part of the house, but from J-F. Blondel's writings of 1737-8,[285] it is clear that even in houses where fixed, plumbed toilets were installed, portable

ones were also in use. These aspects are easily overlooked when architectural drawings, paintings and architectural treatises are investigated, and this oversight results in a distorted image of both Paris and *hôtels particuliers* of the period.

Baths

Toilets involved a certain infrastructure beyond the house itself. They depended on water supply, wastes and city sewers or on the regular emptying of the cesspools (*fosses d'aisance*) (fig. 44), which could cause disagreeable and even dangerous side-effects. Bathrooms , on the other hand, were less problematic. For a long time, in France, they were considered items of luxury. Plumbed baths made their appearance during the period, but they were rarely installed.

In the 1652 inventory of the Hôtel de Rambouillet two wooden baths, trimmed in lead, were recorded in the basement. In 1624 Savot, *Medecin du Roy*, expressed his (professional?) opinion on bathing: " *Les estuues, et bains ne sont pas necessaires en France, comme aux prouinces ou l'on y est accoustumé, & encore moins aujourd'huy on quelque pays que ce soit, qu'anciennement: dautant que les choses non accoustumees doiuent tousiours estre suspectes à nostre santé, & que nous nous en pouuons plus commodement passer que les anciens, à cause de l'vsage du linge que nous auons, qui nous sert auiourd'huy à tenir le corps net plus commodement, que ne pouuient pas faire les estuues, & bains aux anciens...*". However, he continues, "*...si pour quelque autre consideration vn Seigneur desire en auoir en sa maison, il les faut situer plustost en l'etage inferieur, qu'au superieur; tant pour la commodité d'y apporter l'eau que pour celle de voutes...estant situez en vn estage bas ils ne sont sujet à la pourriture* (rot) *que la noiteur* (damp) *de l'eau pourroit apporter tant au Plancher inferieur que superieur s'ils estoient de bois...*". He designated four separate spaces for this purpose.[286] Just as Savot had not synthesized individual rooms, into the greater unit of the *appartement*, he did not do so when he came to discuss the bath area and its spaces; he did not unite these under the heading of *appartement des bains.*

When d'Aviler (1691) dealt with the same subject he grouped the spaces under the heading *appartement des Bains*, of which he writes in his *Dictionnaire: "...une suite de pieces ordinairement au rez de chaussée, qui comprent les Salles, Chambres, Garderobes,Salles de Bains et Etuves: le tout décoré et enrichi de marbre, de stuc &c. de peinture avec des compartimens de pavé fort riches, comme au château de Versailles & au Louvre à Paris dans le*

lieu appellé les Bains de la Reine...". His need to draw on palaces as examples shows how very scarce they were, anywhere else, at that time. But by the enlarged, 1710 edition, bathrooms seemed in greater use, where they were recommended to face North for freshness, and to be paved in marble for the same reason. And he wrote of the copper bath-tub being filled from taps conducting both cold and hot water.[287]

J-F. Blondel's (1737-8) schemes for *Maisons de Plaisance* placed the *appartement des bains* in the *pavilion de l'orangerie*, which stood separate from the main house (figs. 45-6). It comprised a greater number of rooms than Savot had noted. In the *Encyclopédie*, part of the entry *Bains*, contributed by J-F. Blondel, reads: "...*Nous appelons* bains domestiques *ceux que l'on pratique dans la maison des grands ou des particuliers: ils se prennent dans des baignoires de métal; dans lesquelles l'eau est amenée par des conduits de plomb qui descendent d'un réservoir un peu élevé, rempli de l'eau du ciel, ou par le secours d'une pompe. Ces tuyaux garnis de robinets, viennent avant d'entrer dans la baignoire, se distribuer dans une cuve placée sur un fourneau, qui la tient dans un degré de chaleur convenable*" (fig. 47).[288] Thus by this time private baths, in use by *les grandes*, were plumbed to receive rain water which had collected in tanks. The water, both cold and hot, was fed through lead pipes to the bath, where it was regulated by taps. The suite of rooms which made up the *appartement des bains* consisted of an: "...*Anti-chambre pour tenir les domestiques pendant que le maître est en Bain, d'une chambre-à-lit pour s'y coucher au sortir du Bain, d'une salle où est placée la baignoire, d'un cabinet a soûpape ou d'une garderobe, d'un cabinet de toilet, d'une étuve pour sécher les linges et chauffer l'eau, d'un dégagement etc.*" (fig. 45). This gives some idea of the use to which these spaces were put. For Le Camus de Mezières, *bains* were made up of four main spaces and several minor ones. His suggestion was that the bath itself should not rest on the floor, but be sunk into it for greater ease of getting in and out, with the top of the rim no higher than eight or nine inches above the surrounding floor level.[289]

Baths taken for luxury or for health rather than for hygiene were called, according to Furetière (1690), after the substances in which women had immersed themselves: milk, rose water, blood of Innocents, steam and so on.[290] The chronicler Dr Cabanès implied that women received visitors while in their bath, and that a milk bath would hide voluptuous body contours.[291] For the *Dictionnaire Domestique Portatif* (1762-64), *bains domestiques* embraced a wider category

than private bathrooms alone: "*...il y en a de particuliers et de publics. Ces derniers sont entretenus par les baigneurs...*" Even the few who had their own baths at home frequented their *baigneur* regularly. Visiting the *baigneur* had a double meaning. Cabanès noted that Tallemant de Réaux and others considered that for greatest *seignieurs* to: "*aller coucher chez le baigneur* ", signified a night spent in debauchery. The best known brothel was kept by one M. Prud'homme who was promoted to the status of *baigneur* in 1643. It was there that Louis XIV went to be bathed and perfumed in his youth. He subsequently elevated Prud'homme to the status of *Premier Valet de Chambre.*[292]

In addition to spiritual, moral and social teachings, manuals of *civilité*, include rules of practical or physical behaviour, particularly for the young. These covered matters of hygiene and personal appearance. In this vein the *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684), under the section "De l'uriner et des autres necessitez", poses the question: "*Que doit-il faire quand il aura besoin d'uriner?* " and answers it: "*Il se separa des autres pour uriner hors de leur presence...*" Similarly the question "*Que doit il faire, s'il estoit pressé de roter et de peter ?* " is answered: "*Il le fera le plus secretement qu'il luy sera possible...*".[293] De La Salle's *Les Regles de la Bienscéance*, as late as 1774, states that "*Pour les besoins naturels, il est de la bienséance (aux enfant même) de n'y satisfaire que dans des lieux ou'on soit pas apperçu.*"[294] That is, it appears that toilets could not have been in general use despite many royal, and police declarations. De La Salle further says that "*Il n'est jamais séant de parler des parties du corps qui doivent toujours être cachées, ni de certaines nécessités du corps auxquelles la nature nous a assujettie, ni même de les nommer...*".[295]

Judging from the use of spittoons, spitting must have been considered acceptable in houses. Spittoons, like chamber-pots, needed emptying and they were apparently emptied in the same way.[296] The manuals instructed the child to turn away when spitting, so as not to soil anyone. Erasmus advised that if it was not possible to turn away, one should spit into a handkerchief. He also recommends procedures for coughing, yawning and vomiting in company.[297] Spitting out of the window or into the fire was considered unacceptable.

Sneezing in company is also covered in some manuals. According to Erasmus (1537): "*...c'est chose ciuile de se tourner vng petit...*".[298] *La Civilité Puérile et Honneste* (1757) adds that if one

felt inclined to sneeze, one was to turn, cover one's face with a handkerchief, and thank those who blessed one.[299] The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) takes an abstract, anatomical view when it asks: "*Outre la respiration combien y a-t-il de sortes de vents, qui sortent du corps humain?* ". The reply to this was three. It then asks were they originate, and answers: the first, "*Du deriere; il est honteux, & il donne de la confusion*", the second, "*De l'estomach, donne du mépris...*" whilst the third issues "*Du cerveau, qui est le siege de l'ame; c'est un bon signe d'une mauvaise cause...signe de santé & mérite honneur & benediction.*" In the company of someone who sneezed, one therefore had to raise one's hat and make a sign of reverence (responding "God bless you" in a loud voice was not the done thing).[300]

Manuals made no mention of washing one's body. Reference was made only to those parts of the body which were visible when fully dressed. Exposing one's nudity, even to oneself, was not approved of by writers of the period, and the religious ones involved God and original sin. It therefore seems difficult to believe that baths were much used by those who faithfully adhered to Christian teachings. From architectural treatises and other sources it is apparent that the possession of baths was more prevalent among the rich, but it is impossible to know how much they were actually put to use. The missionary who wrote *La Civilité Puérile et Honneste* (1757) spells out the religious reason for never exposing one's body. One is never alone, as God is always there to see us: "*...qu'aucune partie de votre corps ne paroisse nue, quand mesme vous seriez seul dans la chambre...cacher ce que la nature ne veut pas qui paroisse, & faites cela pour le respect de la Majesté d'un Dieu qui vous voit...*".[301] De La Salle (1774) discusses shame in relation to original sin: " *Le plus sensible effet du péché dans Adam, immédiatement après l'avoir commis, fut la honte que fit naître en lui la vue de sa nudité; il sentit aussi tôt quelle étoit la nécessité d'un vêtement...Le Seigneur fit à Adam & à sa femme, des habits de peaux, & les en rèvêtit. Gen, 3 V 21. Héritiers de son crime, nous somme astreints aux mêmes besoins.*" (the 1729 and 1744 are less explicit on original sin, but they do state that as it caused people to dress in the first place, being fully clothed befits both modesty and God's laws.[302]). Consequently, as soon as a child could freely use his arms de La Salle thought that he should be trained to dress himself and not to rely on someone else to assist him, someone who might witness his nudity.[303] Beyond this, La Salle believed that it was improper even to speak of the body: "*Il n'est jamais séant de parler du partie du corps qui doivent toujours être cachées, ni de certaines nécessités du corps auxquelles la nature nous a assujettie...*". Even in conversation

with a sick person: "*...les termes dont on se servira, ne puissent, en rien choquer la bienséance.*"[304] He considered the body in general in idealized terms: "*Comme nous ne devons cosidérer nos corps que comme des temples vivants où Dieu veut être adoré en esprit & en vérité, & tabernacles que Jesus-Christ s'est choisi pour sa demeure, nous ne devons aussi dans la vue de ces belles qualités qu'il possedens, leur porter beacoup de respect; c'est cette considération qui nous doit particulierement engager à ne les pas toucher, & à ne les pas même regarder sans une nécessité indispensable.*"[305] That is, the body which was considered with reverence in the abstract, became a potential source for the most despicable sensation of shock when regarded, displayed, touched or even spoken of, because of original sin. On the other hand, its correct posture, its symmetry, cleanliness and composure were held in high esteem.

Hygiene of the exposable parts of the body: head, face, ears, eyes, hair, hands and so on, and the clothes which covered the rest are considered at length in manuals. While the 1877 French translation of Erasmus's *Civilité Puérile* advises its young readers to "*Se laver le visage, le matin, dans de l'eau fraiche, est aussi propre que salubrre, le faire plus souvent est inutile*",[306] the 1537 edition advised washing only the mouth.[307] The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité* (1688) tells its young reader that the face and eyes should be cleaned with a white cloth only: "*Parce que cela décrasse et laisse le teint et la couleur dans la constitution naturelle.*" And further: "*Parce que se laver avec de l'eau nuit* (harms) *à la vuë, engendre des maux de dans et des catharres, rend le visage pâle et susceptible du froid en hyver et du hâle en été.*" It suggested that in the hot weather the face should be wiped with a handkerchief.[308] It seems that by 1757 the use of water on the face was more accepted, since *La Civilité Puérile et Honneste* suggested washing the eyes to preserve one's eye-sight.[309]

The care of teeth required that they be kept clean, and Erasmus had declared that "*...les blanchir auec pouldre, appartient aux filles; les froter de sel ou d'alun* (potash) *il est mauluais pour la genciue: de ce faire auec son vrine, s'est aux Espaignolz.*", he suggested instead to wash the mouth with pure water instead.[310] The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1688) and La Salle (1729) added that teeth should be cleaned, daily, primarily after the morning meal.[311] De La Salle (1774) warned that children ruined their teeth by not cleaning them, by eating things that damage, and blacken them, as well as by using them for pulling out nails.[312]

Hair was discussed from the combined points of view of hygiene and aesthetics. Erasmus stressed that not to comb one's hair was negligent, yet one was not to puff it out like a girl's.[313] The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) advised young readers to comb their hair each morning.[314] Erasmus advocated keeping the hair out of one's eyes and not letting it grow beyond shoulder length.[315] The earlier editions of de La Salle stated: "*...les hommes pour l'ordonaire doivent les* [*oreilles*] *couvrir de leurs cheveux* ",[316] but in the 1774 edition: "*L'usage ne permettant plus aux hommes de se couvrir entiérement les oreilles avec leurs cheveux.*"[317] The ears should be kept clean with a *cure oreille*, according to de La Salle.[318] And while the earlier editions mentioned that some women liked to decorate their ears with pearls and diamonds (modesty dictated otherwise),[319] the 1774 edition considered that men, who now had short hair: "*...ne doivent se percer les oreilles que dans le cas de nécessité...*".[320]

The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1688), in keeping with its generally philosophical approach, gives a more liberal view on hair: "*Il faut en cela suivre la mode pourveu qu'elle ne soit point contre la bienseance.*" It disapproves, however, of twisting the hair behind one's ears, or under one's hat, in company, since "*...cela sent le peintre ou Maitre Ecrivain du village.*"[321] Erasmus and the *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité..* (1688) agreed that one should take care not to have lice in one's hair as it was disgusting. Nor should one touch one's head continually, or scratch any other part of the body.[322] The level of hygiene could not have improved since the 1774 edition of de La Salle repeated the advice that: "*Il n'y a personne qui ne se doivent faire une regle indispensable de se peigner chaque jour les cheveux; celle propreté est utile à la santé; elle empêche que la vermine & mille autres ordures semblables ne gâtent la tête & ne les fassent tomber; il faut les nourrir avec poudre & de la pommade, mais ne pas trop les cy charger ni laisser long-temps...parce qu'alors elle nuiroient plus qu'elles ne seroient utiles.*"[323]

Washing one's hands each morning, and before meals was another routine which children were encouraged to follow, as the *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1688) makes plain: "*C'est une chose qui contribuë à la santé de se laver souuent les mains.*"[324] It further detailed that nails should be cut weekly with scissors (not with a knife nor bitten with one's teeth) and cleaned daily, to remove all dirt around them. They should be kept short, clean, and not black.[325] Clean hands (with short, clean nails) were to be extended for a handshake with an equal or a close friend, according to de La Salle (1729): "*C'est donner à une personne un temoigniage d'amitié*

& d'union particulier, de mettre sa main dans la sienne par maniere de civilité c'est pour ce sujet que cels ne se doit faire ordinairement que par des personnes qui sont égales."[326] Since friendship was considered possible only among equals in the 1774 edition this was rephrased: "*...ce geste est un signe commun de paix, de familiarité & de bienveillance...*"[327] and further, the extended hand was to be ungloved. Keeping on one's gloves however, was a prerogative of women.[328]

Clothes which covered all those parts of the body which should be hidden from view had to be kept clean. De Courtin, among others, treated this subject philosophically: "*...à propos d'habits, il est bon de dire, que la propreté fait une grande partie de la bien-seance, & sert autant que toute autre chose, à faire connoître la vertu & l'esprit d'une personne...*
"*Or la propreté estant une certaine convenance des habits à la personne, comme la bien-seance est la convenance des actios, à l'égard des autres.*"[329] To ensure that one's clothes were suitable and comfortable, he suggested that "*il est necessaire, si nous voulons estre propres, de conformer nos habits à nostre taille, à nostre condition, & à nostre âge.*"[330] To this end one should distance oneself from both excessive cleanliness and excessive negligence. "*Ces deux deffauts sont aussi blâmables l'un que l'autre: mais celuy qui vient de negligence a cela de plus, qu'outre la mauvaise idée qu'il donne de la personne, il desoblige celle devant qui l'on se presente, & manque en quelque façon au respect.*"[331] That is, a harmonious middle way was also advised in this respect.

La Civilité Puérile et Honneste (1757) stressed that clothes should be buttoned up: "*...habit soit bien fermé par-devant, particulierement sur la potrine* ", and that they, as well as shoes, should be kept clean. It also advised that before going to bed one ought to shake and dust off one's clothes, so that they would always be clean.[332] Correct dress also involved colour, according to de La Salle (1729): it was unfitting for a fifteen-year-old boy to dress in black unless he was an ecclesiastic, or in mourning.[333] Also, irrespective of the summer heat it was uncivil to appear before anyone: "*...les jambes nues, la poitrine, l'estomac & le col découverts*", and one ought not to leave the house without a collar, a cravat, or a handkerchief.[334] He goes into greater detail about unsuitable clothes: "*Porter un habit top court, trop long ou trop large, dont la couleur & l'ornemens ne convient point à l'âge, à la condition, c'est donner dans le ridicule, les parents doivent veiller sur l'habillement de leurs enfans; ne pas exiter leur amour-propre en les habillant*

plus richement que leur condition l'exige...".[335] Bodily cleanliness involved the frequent change of underwear: "*Changer souvent de linge, lorsqu'on se peut, est aussi essentiel à la santé que conforme à l'honnêteté & à la décence.*"[336] (echoing Savot's opinion). When de Courtin (1671) considered underwear, he referred to it as white underwear: "*La seconde partie de la propreté est la netteté, qui est autant-plus necessaire qu'elle supplée à l'autre, quand elle manque: Car si les habits sonts nets, & sur tout si on a du linge blanc, il n'importe pas que l'on soit richement vestu; on sentira toujours son bien, même dans la pauvreté.*"[337] In 1729 de La Salle suggested a change at least once a week, to keep their underwear white. He permitted more casual (*plus commode*) clothes when one was at home and did not expect important visitors.[338]

De Courtin saw clothes and appearance as only part of the general impression a person made: "*Et non seulement c'est la propreté & la bien-seance des habits qui donnent bonne impression de la personne: mais ses domestiques, son train, sa maison, ses meubles & sa table, tout cela devant avoir aussi proportion & rapport à la qualité & à l'âge, parce que ce sont autant de signes qui nous marquent...*".[339] Clothes should fit and be both modest and fashionable.[340] In *L'Honneste Garçon* (1642) François de Grenaille, *escuyer, Sieur de Chantournieres*, said: "*Ses* [the child's]*habits...seront dans la mode bien-seante aux enfans de sa condition, & non pas proportiõnez à l'extravagãce de quelques uns qui pensent acuerir de la vogue en se faisant remarquer comme les fols par vn habits extraordinaire. Il faut tout donner à l'vsage commun, & rien au caprice particulier.*"[341] De Courtin elaborated on the same subject: "*...la loy que l'on doit observer indispensablement pour la propreté, c'est la mode; c'est sous cette maitresse absoluë, qu'il faut faire ployer la raison, en suivant pour nos habits...si nous ne voulons sortir de la vie civile. Cette mode a les deux mêmes extrémitez vicieuses...l'excés de negligence, l'excés d'affectation.*" Either made one ridiculous.[342]

The moderation applied to the appearance and cleanliness of clothes extended to conformity with fashion. A conformity which seems to express the underlying harmony affecting all spheres, including *etiquette* and architecture. It addressed the possibility of stepping out of line in cleanliness, tidiness, dress, behaviour and so on, so breaking the harmony which each person was expected to observe and maintain according to his status. The disruption or unsettling of this harmony might shock others, contravening the essence of the moderation,

serenity and regularity that manuals of behaviour or *civilité* tried to instil in their pupils. De La Salle suggested an attitude to fashion: "*La regle la plus sure, et la plus raisonnable touchant les Modes, est de n'en etre pas l'inventeur, de n'etre pas des premiers à s'en servir, & de ne pas attendre qu'il n'y ait plus personne qui les vent pour les quitez.*"[343] For a child to avoid the unacceptable and undesirable he had to be taught to recognize them, de Grenaille believed: "*Ce qui choque dans la societé, où ce qui plaist generalement à tout le mõde ne lui* [the child] *doit pas estre incõnu.*"[344]

Kitchens & dining

The kitchen area together with the area known as *les Offices*, not immediately associated with private *appartements* of *hôtels*, were, however, crucial to their functioning. Like bathrooms and toilets, these required the use of water, whose supply to buildings improved greatly during the period. Running water was a great improvement both in convenience and in the general level of hygiene in houses. Houses in Paris were normally constructed as single family units, although many were in multiple occupation. In the case of *hôtels*, however, the residents did actually belong to a single household.

Savot (1624), in the chapter: "De la Cuisine, Gardemanger, Salle ou commun & Fournil", says that the largest of the spaces in this area, often the kitchen, had to be of a size commensurate with the household it served. Here, again, Savot did not synthesize the individual spaces into a larger unit, and Félibien's dictionary (1676) made no mention of this part of the house. Furetière's (1690) practical definition of the kitchen is: "*...où on cuit et où on prepare les viandes*" and he defines *batterie de Cuisine* as "*...tous les utensiles de cuivre et de fer qui servent à faire cuire, rotir, griller, ou autrement preparer les viandes.*" He also notes that the bourgeois had kitchen servants, whilst *les grands* had *ecuyers* to prepare their food.

In his *Dictionnaire* (1691), d'Aviler considered the kitchen: "*...piece du département de la bouche odinairement au rez-de-chaussée et quelquefois dans l'Etage souterrain...*" (In royal households d'Aviler distinguishes between two sorts of kitchen: "*...une Cuisine qu'on appelle de la Bouche, pour la table du Maiître, et une du Commun pour les Domestiques.*"). Kitchens made part of the larger unit known as *les Offices* of which area of the house he said: "*...on comprend sous ce nom* (*les Offices*) *toutes les Pieces du Département de la Bouche, comme*

la cuisine, Gardemanger, Dépense, Sommelerie, Salle du commun etc. qui sont ordinairement voutées et plus basses que le rez-de-chaussée dans les grands Maisons. Mais on appelle particulierement office, *une Piece prés de la Salle à manger, où l'on renferme tout ce qui depend du service de la Table & du Dessert*", and of "*garde manger: petit lieu de la cuisine, pour serrer les Viandes.*"

In sumptuous houses d'Aviler (1710 -1760) distinguishes between kitchens and *offices*, thus: "*Les pieces...pour le service des cuisines sont les salles du commun, les lavoirs, garde-manger, rôtisserie &c.*" and "*Les Offices...quatre pieces dépendant l'une de l'autre.*" In the kitchen suite, the *Salle du commun* — the dining room for the servants furnished with tables and benches but without a fireplace — adjoins to the kitchen where this proximity stops the servants from overcrowding the kitchen; the *lavoirs* — the small spaces for washing up — should be separate from the kitchen proper; the "*garde-manger,...la piece la plus nécessaire...doît être grillée pour la sûreté des provision...aussi la désert des tables*" and the "*rôtisserie...endroit pratiqué dans les grandes cuisines...pour y serrer les volailles & le gibier que pour y piquer les viandes*" were the main spaces of the principal kitchen suite. To preserve the meat in the *garde-manger* and in the *rôtisserie*, both spaces should face away from the sun's heat.[345] In his dictionary (1691) d'Aviler defined *lavoir:* "*...prés d'une Cuisine autant le lieu que la Cuve de pierre quarrée et profonde, qui sert a* laver *la vaiselle.*"[346] D'Aviler (1760) adds that if one had a water tank, it was very convenient to have it plumbed to the *lavoir.*[347]

Of the four spaces that made up *les Offices* d'Aviler (1710 -1760) says: the first, *commun pour les Officiers*, which was the second dining room, or that of the *maître d'hôtel*, contained a small kitchen-range, a basin, an *étuve* and the *commodités* required for the officer. The *seconde office*, with shelves on all sides for vases and crockery, was furnished with tables — for preparing the desserts — with cupboards under them for storing table linen, bread and so on. The third space, the *aide office;* in fact the *garde manger* for the *officier* and the most essential in this suite, was used to store provisions, desserts, table linen and silver, and was protected by a grille. The *chambre à coucher de l'Officier* — adjoining the former — for the *officier* who had to be in attendance to look after the crockery and the other items in his charge, was the fourth space. It was considered preferable for the whole suite to be on one level but where this was not practicable the *aide-office* and the *chambre-à-coucher de l'Officier* might be located in the

entresol over the *commun* and over the *seconde office* accessible by secondary stairs.[348] The wine cellar should be located directly below the *offices* in easy reach of the officer.

J-F. Blondel's entry "*Cuisine* " in the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65), states the requirement of an abundant supply of water. This was either to be piped in from the outside, or to be pumped within the kitchen itself. Le Camus de Mezières (1780) included in the section "Cuisines et Offices" the spaces: "*Cuisine, Garde-Manger, Garde-Manger pour les Poisson, Bûcher, Rôtisserie, Pâtisserie, Lavoir, Commun, cour des cuisines, Office.*" He considered the *office* as a *vestibule* for the other spaces in the suite, the "*Premiere Piece de l'Office, Seconde Piece de Travail pour les Sucreries, Troisieme Piece où se dressent les Desserts, quatrieme Piece pour serrant de Fruitiere, cinquieme Piece servant de Fruiterie, sixieme Piece pour les Plateaux et les Porcelaines, septieme Piece pour l'Argenterie, Huitieme Piece pour le Logement de l'Officier, Neuvieme Piece pour l'Aide d'Officier, Logement du Maître d'hôtel* [which alone consisted of seven rooms], *Logement de Chef de Cuisine* [comprising two rooms]."[349]

As these excerpts indicate, the rooms which composed the kitchen suite increased in number during the period, as did those of *appartements*, and so afforded greater specialisation. Improvements in water supply, heating, cooking utensils, and technical facilities alleviated some of the problems of health and hygiene with which those living in *hôtels* had to struggle.

Those of consequence in *hôtel* households dined at some distance from the kitchen area. The 1647 edition of Le Muet's *Maniere de bien bastir pour toute sortes de Personnes* included a space labelled *salle-à-manger* and d'Aviler used the term in his Ground Floor Plan (fig. 33). The second *antichambre*, however, was also used as a dining room, in the later part of the eighteenth century.[350]

Seating at the table was addressed only cursorily in manuals of manners. De Courtin (1672) suggested that: "*Il faut..attendre que l'on vous place, ou se placer au bas bout selon le precepte de l'Evangile..*"[351] The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité* (1688) added in the same spirit: "*Il* [the host] *est obligé...leur* [visitors] *donner...à la table le haut bout ou la place d'honneur...*".[352] Correct behaviour at the table before, during and after a meal was, however, a major topic in the education or *civilité* of the young. Sitting down at the table, according to de Courtin: "*Il ne faut*

pas quitter son manteau ou son épée pour se mettre à table, parce qu'il est de la bien-seance de les garder."[353] Also, "*Etant assis il faut se tenir le corps droit sur son siege, et ne mettre jamais les coudes sur la table.*"[354] Both these remarks were repeated in 1772. The *Nouveau traite de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) had a slightly different view concerning swords at the table: "*...il doit la (épée) tenir derriere luy ou au moins à costé, en sorte qu'elle nincommode personne & qu'elle n'approche pas des jupes ou des tabliers de femmes qui sont à table.*"[355] If one had one's hat off at the table, one was to put it on again only after those of higher status had done so.[356] According to de La Salle, a visitor arriving during a meal should be asked to stay if he has no prior arrangements.[357]

Children took four meals according to the *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684): "*déjeuneur, dinner, goûter, souper* "[387] Before any meal a child was expected to wash his hands. As de La Salle and others noted, order of rank was to be followed by those washing their hands: "*L'ordre qu'on doit garde en lavant ses Mains, est de le faire selon le rang que l'on tient dans la famille: ou si on mange en compagnie, selon le rang qu'on tient parmi les Conviez.*"[359] Also, as *La Civilité Puérile et Honneste* (1757) states: "*...& en recevant l'eau, il faut vous baisser un peu pour ne point salir vos habits. Si l'essui main ou la serviette est attachée, faites ensorte que vous n'incommodez personne en essuyant vos mains; & si elle n'est pas attachée, tenez la pour le bout jusqu'à ce que ceux qui sont au dessus de vous s'en soient servi.*"[360] De Courton (1672) writes that if one was asked by someone of importance to stay for a meal, it was uncivil to wash one's hands together with that person, unless invited specifically to do so. In that case, if no *officier* (i.e. *domestique*) was available to remove the towel which one had used for wiping one's hands, one had to retain it, as it was quite improper to hand a used towel to a person of a higher status, advice still given in 1772.[361] De La Salle (1729) instructed children with very dirty hands to wash them properly first, before joining the ritual communal washing of hands.[362] The 1774 edition (but not earlier ones), considered cleaning one's hands before a meal: "*...point une pratique de religion, mais c'est une regle prescrite par la propreté*"; by then this was done in private rather than communally: "*Comme il n'est plus d'usage de donner publiquement à laver, il faut se laver en son particulier; si cependant on se trouvoit dans des maisons où cet usage subsistât, il faudroit attendre son tour, c'est-à-dire, ne se laver qu'après les personnes les plus qualifiées.*"[363]

Even in the greatest houses it was common for children of the household to serve at table (*see above* p 80). L.D.L.M. (1671), advises children to wash their hands before serving, refrain from scratching their heads, keep their clean hands visible, and above all, refrain from spitting and coughing. They were to take care not to bump into the arms or shoulders of those sitting at, and especially drinking at, the table and not bespatter anyone. Plates should be changed for each dish; when served to a *Grand*, in winter, the plates were to be warmed at the fire before serving.[364] De La Salle (1774 edition) considered that "*Dans les bonnes tables, les domestiques attentisent, changeant les assiettes sans qu'on les avertissent...*",[365] (*Domestique* as defined in the *Encyclopédie* : "*...toutes les personnes qui sont subordinnées à quelqu'un, qui composent la maison...Quelquefois le mot* domestique *s'étend jusqu'à la femme et aux enfans...*"[366]) De La Salle (1729), however, who appears not to have shared the view that children served at table considered that "*Les jeunes gens, & ceux qui sont de moindre consideration, ne doivent pas se méler de servir les autres...*".[367]

According to Dr Cabanès, forks came into use during the reign of Louis XIV, but at the King's table only the monarch made use of a fork, and until the Revolution anyone dining *en Ville* brought their own cutlery with them.[368] De Courtin advises that: "*...si on sert, il faut...rien toucher que de la fourchette...*",[369] and de La Salle's remarks in his 1774 edition: "*La cuiller, la fourchette & le couteau, doivent toujours être placées à la droite.*",[370] gives the impression that, in some places at least, cutlery was provided by the host.

As early as Erasmus (1537 translation) diners were advised to take salt with the tip of a clean knife after the latter had been wiped with one's napkin. No fingers were to be used.[371] This advice was repeated by later writers. Erasmus also advised children not to drop food remains (so as not to soil the floor), not to put them in one's napkin or to replace them on one's plate but to place them at the edge of one's plate, or: "*...sur le plateau que, chez beaucoup de gens l'on dispose expres pour les recevoir.*"[372] De La Salle suggests that it was impolite to talk too much during a meal.[373] The napkin which one found on one's plate was to protect one's clothes and, according to him, it was to cover one's front from the knees up to under the collar, but it was not to be tucked into the collar.[374]

After a meal, according to Erasmus, any food remaining between the teeth was not to be

removed with the point of a knife, or with one's nails in the manner of dogs and cats, or with one's napkin. The correct method was to use a toothpick, a feather, or the small bone from a chicken's foot. Rinsing the mouth was restricted to the morning.[375] L.D.L.M.'s *La Civilité Novvelle* (1671), suggested that in certain places it was customary, after meals, to serve toothpicks on a plate, accompanied by a fine napkin all placed on the table,together with rinsing water: "*...doit donner à laver premierement au plus considerable de toute la compagnie: & s'il se trouuoit qu'il y en eust quelqu'vn de singuliere préeminence, le seruira auec vne seruiette particuliere, & aux autres auec la leur; approchera d'eux le boissin adroittement, en telle façon qu'ils y puissent arriuer deux ou trois ensemble.*"[376] The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) recommends, however, that teeth were not to be cleaned in public, nor at the table.[377] De La Salle agrees: "*Ce seroit une incivilité de se curer les dents en pleine Compagnie; on doit se retirer dans une enclosure de fenêtre ou à l'écart, même sortir de l'assemlée si on se peut, sans gêner les personnes qui la composent. Ceux qui, après les repas, sont dans l'usage de se rinser la bouche, ne doivent pas le faire dans l'appartement où se retire la compagnie, mais dans un endroit particulier, où ils ne sont vue de personne, excepté du domestique qui a donné l'eau.* "[378]

As early as his 1672 edition, de Courtin notes that rules of conduct were subject to change: "*Il y en a plusieurs qui ont déjà changé, et je ne doute pas qu'il n'y en ait qualité de celle-ci, qui changeront de même à l'avenir.*"[379] A sentiment shared by de La Salle (1729): "*...ce qui lui plaisoit hier, ne lui plaiz pas aujoud'hui...*".[380]

IIIIIII

Whereas Alberti considered that "*To each of these* [senators, judges, generals] *belong two Kinds of Buildings, one upon the Person's Office, the other for the Use of his own private Family*",[381] the Office-holding nobility of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paris had but a single complex building for the pursuit of both work and private life. This duality of purpose turned the house and its users into a miniature State. In the way that rules were set to maintain a harmoniously functioning State, so too the actions and behaviour of the *hôtel* users were expected to be commensurate with their standing to allow for smooth and intelligible operation

of the houses and to avoid shocking anyone and to preserve Harmony. The rules of Classical architecture, which governed the design of such buildings as they came down to seventeenth-century France from Italy, were concerned with external expression, with room sizes and room location appropriate for their use. To these the French contributed their form of *distribution* which in *hôtels particuliers* integrated systems of circulation and increased *commodité*, some of which depended on technical innovations.

Chapter IV

HOTEL PARTICULIER : DETAILS AND INTERSECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter the divisions and subdivisions of the *hôtel* were considered in order of decreasing size. First *appartements*, with a variety of specifically designated functions were examined, then their subdivision into rooms. The present chapter will consider the method devised to allow freedom of movement through the different types of room, and through different sorts of *appartement*. The strategy in the design of *hôtels* depended on the requirements of their owners. It did not concentrate on how to save on minor spaces, but on how to attain a fluid continuity in the progression through the major ones. The need for such fluid, or harmonious, continuity of movement within and between rooms and *appartements*, especially the public ones, increased with the increasing sophistication of social behaviour amongst the French nobility. To distance themselves from perpetual exposure to the presence of others — which had been inevitable in large, multi-purpose, through-rooms — the owners retreated to their *appartements*, for comfort convenience and privacy. When attending to official or social engagements they wanted to proceed without disruptions from domestics, other members of the household and other visitors. To achieve this end, a system was conceived and implemented to ensure that those who came to the house on some business or socially were received and could pursue their business with as little disruption as possible. The staff, however, had to be in attendance in case their services were required. As a result, a system of circulation evolved in which two separate entwining routes through the buildings, one on view, the other behind the scenes, made fluidity of movement and operation possible. Doors, the points of access to, or the points of intersection between, the separate routes were clearly distinguished by size and appearance according to their function as one proceeded through the main spaces. And the distinctiveness of doors at the points of access made the separation between functions unmistakably clear. It marked the routes for official visitors and played down the secret routes for those residing on the premises. It encouraged harmonious, measured progress through rooms, as de Courtin in the *Nouveau de la La Civilité* (1672) advised his readers under the heading "L'Audiance d'un Grand": "*...entrant dans sa chambre ou dans son cabinet, il faut marcher doucement...*"[1] The harmony within the walls of the *hôtels particulier* was measured in visual harmony, social harmony, and the private harmony of comfort and convenience.

Whereas doors ensured both the segregation of the spaces of the *hôtel* and a harmonious continuity through them, other elements in the house were also affected by the need to achieve a unity of composition within spaces. This chapter will deal with such elements as doors, windows and fireplaces that had implications for the internal spaces as well as for the façades and in turn for the house plan as well. (Some furniture, that arguably was instrumental in the initial stages of the quest for greater convenience, prior to architectural solutions, will also be mentioned.) It will imply the struggle between the increased sophistication in internal design and circulation, on the one hand, and on the other, the need for smaller enclosures to create greater comfort and privacy for the inhabitants of *hôtels particuliers*. This will be investigated with two underlying aspects in mind, one guided by principles of architecture (i.e. derived ultimately from Vitruvius), the other guided by the newly acknowledged sense of comfort, or *commodité*. These two considerations constituted, in my opinion, the polarities of the evolution and formation of *hôtels*. Other aspects such as fashion, morals, political and national considerations and so on, also affected the development of *hôtel* architecture. In this thesis, however, the crucial considerations will be held to be the effects which the Academic rules and the increased desire for comfort, or *commodité*, had on one another in the resolution of *hôtel* architecture.

The fundamental problem of ascertaining the exact definitions of the Vitruvian precepts of architecture as seen by Perrault was noted in Chapter III. A further example is the Greek term *symmetria* , which Perrault considered to be compatible both with the French *convenance* (*de mesure*) and with *proportion/eurythmie*. He believed that the French *proportion* expressed the Greek term *Symmetria* , as the latter signified "*l'amas et le concours ou rapport de plusieurs mesures qui dans diverses parties ont une proportion entr'elles qui est convenable à la parfaite composition.*"[2] On the other hand, he considered the differences between the Ancient and the Modern French view of *Symmetrie* (i.e. *Symmetria; Proportion*): "*Je crois neanmoins qu'on doit établir deux especes de Symmétrie, dont l'une est le rapport de raison des parties proportionnées, qui est la Symmetrie des anciens, & l'autre est le rapport d'égalité qui est notre Symmetrie; dont il y a encore deux especes. Car si ce rapport est pareil, & que les parties gauches & les droites, par examples, soient de mesme grandeur & de situation pareille, il s'appelle simplement Symmetrie; mais s'il est contraire & opposé, il est apell Contraste, & alors il appartient à la Peinture & à la Sculpture, & non à l'Architecture.*" Perrault expresses some

astonishment at the fact that Vitruvius had not included the second, or French type of *Symmetrie*, which in his view "*... fait une grande partie de la beauté des Edifices, ou plustost qui ne sçauroit y manquer sans les rendre tout-à-fait difformes;*" but he reasoned that it must have been this very fact which made for its absence: "*...comme si cette espece de Symmetrie estoit une chose si facile à observer, qu'il* [Vitruvius] *n'a pas jugé qu'elle meritast d'estre mise au rang des autres pour lesquelles il faut plus de finesse.*" At the end of this note, however, he mentions: "*...un endroit où Vitruve parle de la Symmetrie suivant la signification que nous luy donnons en France; c'est à la fin du troisiéme livre...*" He went on to explain his use of the expression: "*La Convenance de Mesure*": "*Le mot* commodulatio *exprime encore celuy de* Symmetria*...Le mot* convenance *dont je me sers...pour dire en cet endroit* ce qui est propre et juste..."[3] (i.e. appropriateness). On the other hand, *Bienseance* was defined by Perrault as "*...ce qui fait que l'aspect de l'Edifice est tellement correct, qu'il n'y a rien qui ne soit approuvé et fondé sur quelque autorité* "[4] which again describes the essence of appropriateness. The *Encyclopédie*'s entry for *Bienséance*, written by J-F. Blondel, added to the Vitruvian explanation: "*...: c'est ce que nous appellons* convenances." Of the Vitruvian precepts, the ones most relevant to in this chapter are: *ordonnance*, which Perrault explained as "*ce qui donne à toutes les parties d'un Bâtiment leur juste grandeur, par rapport à leur usage;*" — this explanation will be taken to include small details of houses — *Bienseance* and *Symmétrie*, a symmetry about a central axis in particular.

The other issue to be addressed in this chapter is the quest for comfort or *commodité* of the users. This meaning of *commodité*, in the general field of planning, was a relatively new concept in the eighteenth century. In Perrault's translation of Vitruvius one finds that Book Six, Chapter Seven is entitled " *A quel aspect du Ciel chaque genre de Bâtimant doit tourné pour faire que les Logemens soient commodes et sains.*", a consideration that has some bearing on room and *appartement* usage, and on the appropriateness of their location. It was, however, a long way from the notion of comfort and *commodité* which the eighteenth century French architects lay claim to have invented, and which took a long time to evolve, as will be demonstrated.

Symmetry and *convenance*

A harmony based on symmetry about one axis, so-called natural symmetry, was a popular concept in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Within rooms this symmetry was created to welcome the person entering the room and to indicate the direction of progress through the room (*see* pp 194-5). It thus became a directional element. Savot (1624 and later editions) describe symmetry in human terms: "*...comme nous voyons que la partie qui n'est qu'une au corps humain est justement située au milieu, come le nez, la bouche...;et celles qui sont plus d'une sont égales et semblables entre-elles, et également éloignées de la partie du milieu...du même il faut que toutes les pieces, et appartenances d'un bâtiment, et les parties d'icelles...qui sont au dehors, et à découvert, en cas qu'elles se puis appercevoirs d'une seule veuë, et place...*"[5] (One might wish to recall that Savot was a medical doctor.) Sir Henry Wotton (1624) was more abstract in his definition of symmetry: "*Symmetria* is the *conueniencie* that runneth betweene the *Parts* and the *Whole...*".[6] D'Aviler (1691) also kept to an abstract interpretation: "*Par la decoration des Façades en comprend aussi bien l'Architecture du dedans des Appartemens, que celle des murs des faces exterieures du Bâtiment. La Symmetrie en est le principal ornement, en sorte que toutes les parties paralleles doivent être également distantes du milieu, et pareilles en hauteur...*".[7] The entry "*Simmetrie ou Symmetrie* " in his dictionary reads: "*...le rapport de parité, soit de hauteur, de largeur, ou de longueur de parties, pour composer un beau tout. On appelle on architecture,* symmetrie uniforme*, celle dont l'ordonnance regne d'une même maniere dans un pourtour. Et* symmetrie respective*, celle dont les côtez opposez sont pareils entr'eux.*" The latter definition described symmetry about a central axis, or a natural, human symmetry. (Perrault's explanation of *Symmetrie, & Convenance see* p 186).

J-F. Blondel (1752-6), who also compared architectural symmetry to that of the human body,[8] believed that lack of symmetry was a defect to be avoided at all costs.[9] His comparison between the human body with architecture followed two distinct lines. Firstly, there was the Vitruvian concept that each of the Orders expressed, in stone, a different human characteristic. Each Order, with its inherent quality, would lend a specific character to any building of which it formed a part. He considered this in the *Encyclopédie* (1751-65), as his entry on the term *Convenance* shows: "*La convenance doit etre regardée comme le premier principe de l'art de bâtir...c'est elle qui enseigne, lorsqu'on a fait choix d'une expression rustique, virile, moyenne, délicate ou*

composée, de ne jamais allier dans la même ordonnance deux contraires ensemble...". This first line of comparison between man and architecture will not be considered further. His second comparison between the human body and architecture relied on a symmetry similar to that described by Savot. His conviction of the importance of human symmetry, or a symmetry with a central emphasis, went so far that he maintained the traditional position that even when only repetitious elements were involved, such as in a line of identical windows, an odd number was essential. A central element was thus present even if this element was not distinguishable visually from the others.[10]

Le Camus de Mezières (1780) took up the same two aspects of the relationship between man and architecture. He describes the character or atmosphere which an Order lent to architecture: "*Les proportions générales de l'Architecture ont avec celles du corps humain, une analogie frappante et semblent prise d'après les principaux caracteres que nous remarquons. Ils y a des corps forts et robustes; il en a de délicats et élégans. C'est sous cet aspect que nous considérons les cinq Ordres.*"[11] He considered symmetry, however, an essential prerequisite for both external and internal architecture: "*La symmétrie ou plutôt les répétitions et les vis-à-vis sont essentiels.*"[12] This kind of human symmetry about one axis was sustained in main rooms, so that on entry into one of the official rooms of the house, the facing wall would normally contain a central element with two symmetrically placed elements on either side of it (at least from d'Aviler's time onwards).

An element which helped to heighten the sense of symmetry within rooms was the *compartiment.* It was, as explained by d'Aviler: "*...la disposition de Figures reguliers formées de lignes droites ou courbes et paralleles, et divisées avec symmetrie pour les Lambris...*".[13] *Compartimens* usually subdivided both walls and ceilings of rooms. The architectural subdivision of complete walls into sections, was, as said, symmetrical about a central axis. Adjoining *compartimens* need not have been identical or repetitive; however, the overall effect of both walls and ceilings had to be one of symmetry. Symmetry, both external and internal, imposed a formal order on *hôtels.* In those rooms of *hôtels* in which symmetry and formal structure constituted a prominent, imposing element,[14] formal behaviour between people was also expected.

Comfort or *commodité*

Commodité in architecture, in a sense that would be recognized today, was a concept developed particularly in France in the eighteenth century. Since the French regarded themselves as the torch-bearers of excellence in art and architecture after the earlier pre-eminence of Greece and then Italy, it is not surprising to read J-F. Blondel's view: "*...La France, plus sage que l'Italie, et plus heureuse que la Grece, en imitant ce qu'elle a su estimer, a ajouté à la grandeur et à la décoration, la commodité si présieuse. Ses progrès n'ont pas été rapides. Les Lescot et Les Mansard ingnorerent ces trésors du goût répandus aujoud'hui dans l'intérieur de nos maisons.*",[15] This not withstanding, Philibert de l'Orme had already used this concept of *commodité* in his planning, even if on a very limited scale, as already mentioned in Chapter III (*see* p 132). This, however, seems to have been a very early exception, since the term *commode* is defined simply as: *apte et convenable* in Jean Nicot's dictionary of 1621. And *convenable* is defined as "*propre ou sortable à quelque chose*". *Commodité* does not appear in his dictionary. *Confort*, on the other hand, is defined as: "*...proprement application de force, à une plus faible pour la renforcer. Selon ce on dit la main du Roy confortte celle du Seigneur feodal...Donner confort, aide et secours, auxiliari...*". This term was treated in Furetière's dictionary (1690), as a "*vieux mot qui signifie Aide...*" . His entry under *commodité* runs: "*... ce logis a beacoup de Commoditez, de petits lieux commodes.*" He also interpreted it as "*aisements*". Roland Le Virloys (1770-1) defined *commodités* only as "*aisance*:", that is, "*latrine*". In the *Encyclopédie*, the entry "*Commodités*" which appears only in the plural, is an entry by J-F. Blondel. Like that of Furetière, this definition relates to spaces rather than to their inhabitants: "*En batiment, est un petit endroit dégagé des autres pieces d'un appartement...*". Boffrand (1745), however, points out the relevance of their users: "*Cette partie d'Architecture (distribution) a pour objet la commodité du maître de la maison...Les chambres doivent être ornées et meublées par rapport à leur usage et à la gradation qui doit se trouver des chambres occuppées par les domestiques à celles du maître.*"[16] In his contribution on the term *Distribution* in the *Encyclopédie* J-F. Blondel seems to have included both the earlier, Vitruvian, and the new meaning of the word: "*... la commodité...ayant pour objet l'exposition générale du bâtiment, sa situation, et sur-tout ses dégagemens;...dégagés, en sorte que les domestiques puissent faire leur service sans troubler les mâtres. C'est par cet arrangement que l'on trouve la commodité de la vie, qui naturellement nous porte à cherir ce qui nous est propre, et éviter tout ce qui peut nous nuire.* " This quality of *commodité* in *hôtel* planning appeared as a subject, in

French architectural treatises, from the eighteenth century onwards (*see also*, p 189).

The importance of Savot's work, for this thesis, lies in its exclusive concern with private houses. Even though he makes some cursory mention of the house as a whole, he was most concerned with its parts. This reads less as an analysis than as a collection of details. His general view on the subject of *commodité* was that "*Les bestes sçavent choisir aussi bien que l'homme, & quelquefois mieux, la commodité de leurs repaires, & demeures: mais d'y apporter de la grace par cette symmetrie, elles ne le peuvent, parce que la connoissance de l'ordre, & de la proportion n'appartiennent entre tous les animaux qu'à l'homme seul...*".[17] One needs to look much later in the century, and particularly to the following century, for a more comprehensive approach to the house, with an underlying concern for *commodité* as a concept that would be taken into account when dealing with details. Like Boffrand, J-F. Blondel presented the overall concept before delving into the details. Any changes that occurred made their appearance in stages. This was as true of changes to rooms as it was to changes in the smaller details of *hôtels*.

A component which had to be taken into account when considering the comfort or *commodité* of the *hôtel* depended on keeping the different users in distinct parts of the building. The *commodité* of the owners was a principal component of the purpose of *hôtels*. To achieve this a knowledge of conventions of behaviour, or rules of interaction between those who made their appearance within *hôtels*, was crucial. Therefore, apart from the question of physical *commodité*, the rules of behaviour observed by those who had access to these houses contributed to and influenced the solutions which architects arrived at in planning them. This component thus has to be borne in mind when trying to understand the spaces and details of such houses.

DOORS

To begin with, a certain difficulty arises from the use of the word *porte*. In French, this term signifies both door, and doorway. Because house plans in treatises, other printed material and drawings show only the door openings, it is not possible to know for certain whether or not doors were hung in some doorways. It is therefore also not possible to know the number of door-leaves in a doorway . From plans alone, then, the following are not legible: the number of leaves; the direction in which the doors swung; whether there were double doors; their height.

Only when plans are supplemented by drawings of interior elevations of rooms can one ascertain some of these facts in specific locations. Some drawings of internal elevations appeared in treatises and other published works, while some engravings, drawings and paintings show generally accepted settings within houses at the time. It is still possible today to find photographs of some rooms in their earlier form, though their exact dating is often a problem. The direction of door-swings (into or out of rooms) is hard to tell even where internal elevations exist, because drawings were produced primarily to show details of the door carvings and architraves discussed in this section.

When Philibert de l'Orme (1568), who was also an *abbé*, considered the elements which made up architecture, he counted seven, and elaborated on them: "*...Murailles...seureté des inhabitants; Portes, pour y entrer; Cheminées, pour le chauffer; Fenestres, pour y donner clarté; L'aire et paué, pour le soustenir et cheminer; Plancher...pour fermer et serrer les Salles, chambres et autre lieux...Couuertures de charpentrie tuille, ou ardoise, pour couurir tout le logis et defendre les habitants contre les iniures de l'air et des larrons.*" He believed that although none of these elements, alone, could create a perfect building, it was their whole, bound in harmony, symmetry, compatibility, and unity that produced perfection and preserved buildings and homes. The number seven was not strange in his eyes, for after all God, the architect of the universe, had created the seven stars, or planets, that were required to uphold the occult harmony.[18] By the seventeenth century, however, architectural treatises no longer relied on the work of the Almighty as a model for the number of elements in architecture. Those treatises that considered the internal *distribution* of *hôtels* stressed the major elements whose proportions were viewed as crucial to the composition of the totality of the spaces in which they were found. The major elements for such consideration in rooms were doors, windows and fireplaces. It was thought that much of the grandeur and convenience of *appartements* depended on their location, dimensions, and proportions.

D'Aviler (1691) and others after him divided each of these elements into three categories: large, medium, and small. The contrast between the subdued small doors for private use and often for access of staff, and the highly ornate, distinct doors and doorways for official use and visitors was marked. The doors gave a clear indication to anyone frequenting an *hôtel* of the route by which visitors were meant to proceed, using the large, ornate doorways while avoiding the small ones

(as J-F. Blondel had indicated, *see below* , p 194). The meandering routes of circulation taken by members of the household behind the scenes were kept as circumspect as possible. This extended, also, to the points of intersection where the private circulation met with the public one, in spaces accessible to outsiders. The small doors played a purely practical role, and were toned down as much as possible, with the hosts making use of both routes, and as a consequence, of both points of entry, as and when they needed. In this way, the directional, processional route was highlighted, whilst the doors that led to the subsidiary, private and partly secret, routes were underplayed. With the development of internal planning, one also finds some small doors with glass panes (*portes vitrées*) which led to *garderobes* and provided these with a source of light, albeit borrowed, or *faux-jour* (*see* Chapter III **faux-jour**[19] *see also* figs. 30a; 30b) In general, single-leaved doorways, at least after 1650 in France, were narrower, lower and differently proportioned to two-leaved doorways. In addition their appearance was discreet so as not to draw attention to them. At times they were even disguised as *compartiments* sections of the wall panelling in which they were located (figs. 48-50).

D'Aviler (1691) describes the three types of doors: "*Il y a trois sortes de Portes qui sont les Grandes, les Moyennes, et les Petites.*"[20] Under the *grandes*, he lists city gates, triumphal arches, the doors to public buildings and the principal gateways to houses. Whether arched or rectangular, he says that their height should equal twice their width in the Ionic Order, less than twice their width in the case of the more massive Orders, and a little over in delicate Orders. He suggested *moyennes portes*, with proportions similar to those of the *grandes*, for use in *grands appartements*, at the main stair, and in vestibules. As to *petites portes*, their use was reserved for *garderobes, petits cabinets, escaliers de dégagemens*, and also throughout modest houses. Their dimensions were given as seven *pieds* (1*pieds* = 0.3248m.) in height by two to three *pieds* in width, to facilitate easy passage through them.[21] The two types of doors or doorways within *hôtels*, i.e. small and medium, were not governed by the same proportions (as small doors were not two by one). These two kinds of doors were therefore distinguishable, both by their different proportions, and by their size, the small doors being much narrower and lower than those used in more prominent positions in an *hôtel*.

Savot (1624) had earlier distinguished the three sizes of doors which he also distinguished by form: the arched and the rectangular. He considered that although the minimum height of small

doors should be six-and-a-half *pieds*, yet to gain space, or to maintain symmetry, they could if necessary be reduced even further.[22] Philibert de l'Orme, who in *Le Premiere Tome de l'Architecture* (1568) considered buildings of an earlier period, gives some practical explanations that seem useful for understanding door sizes. "*Les portes qu'on fait pour entrer...doiuent estre differentes selon les grandeurs desdictes salles, et lieux ausquels on les veult faire seruir...la porte d'une grãde salle de bal pour vn Roy, ou vn Prince, ou grãd seigneur, doit estre plus large et plus havlte, que celle que on a accoutumé de faire aux sales qui seruent pour habiter ordinairement.*" In order to give easy access for *masques à cheval* and to the royal guards carrying halberds, he proposes a maximum width of five *pieds*, and a minimum width four *pieds.* He further suggests that doors for ordinary access had to be at most three *pieds* wide. Their height had to be "*cõuenables, et bien proportionées.*" As to "*portes des chãbres*", their width needed to be between two-and-a-half *pieds*, and two *pieds* ten *pouces.* Those leading to *garderobes* had to be two-and-a-quarter *pieds* wide, "*pour autant qu'il fault qu'elles soient vn peu larges, pour les coffres et bahus*", whereas those to *cabinets* were not to be as wide. He advised that the height of doors be considered diligently, so that they be "*cõuenables...Si est-ce qu'ils ne doivent heurter de la test en entrant dans le logis.*" To this end he considered that a well proportioned man was normally five *pieds* tall, and that consequently *moindre portes* should be at least six *pieds* in height, although six-and-a-half, and seven *pieds*, were also acceptable. In general he thought that: "*...les hauteur conuenables...il ne conuient pas tousiourws regarder, que s'il y a tant de largeur, il doit auoir tant de hauteur, mais cõsiderer premierement l'aisance du lieu & commodité des hommes qui y ont à passer, soient charger ou autrement...*The *grandes portes des sales*, particularly those that were five feet wide, needed to be eight, and even ten feet high.[23] The dimensions de l'Orme refers to are "*pieds de Roy*" (1*pied de Roy* = 0.3248meter), and "*poulces*" (1pouce = 27.07millimetre).

J-F. Blondel's approach to the subject of doors in houses seems far more fundamental. To him, the essence of good design in a house embodied a continuity of expression throughout a building, externally and internally. A suitable expression for a specific building would be achieved when all the elements that made up the house were taken into consideration. He therefore thought that, apart from the choice of the right Order for a particular building, the smaller elements that made up the building also needed to be taken into account. This included floor heights, which in turn determined the height of windows and doors. This in turn led back to

the size of doors *en enfilade*, and the impression that the house owner wished to make on his visitors when they entered the official rooms.[24] He also describes embellished panelled doors inset with mirrors in the *enfilades* of *appartements*, as at the Hôtel de Belle-Isle (*see* Chapter V), and the Hôtel de Tunis.[25]

Doors underwent a distinct development between the early part of the period and the time of J-F. Blondel, a development which, I believe, had a significant impact on both the symmetry and the intelligibility of rooms. The relevance which this had to *moyenne portes*, or doors that were used in the *grands appartements*, involved two changes. The first touched on their overall size, and the second on their form. As to size, d'Aviler compared the doors at Versailles with those at the Palazzo Farnese, in Rome, and commented: "such small doors had been highly fashionable in the past. As a result, in most refurbishment work on *hôtels* and castles, one would start by enlarging the doors."[26] J-F. Blondel (1752-6) elaborated on the issue of the evolution of internal doors in French architecture: "*...Il semble même que depuis cinquante ans ces derniers* [French architects] *ayent à cet égard* [*commodité*] *inventé un nouveau art...qu'avant ce tems nos édifices en France, à l'imitation de ceux d'Italie...les cheminées occupoient la plus grande partie des pieces, et la petitesse des portes donnoit une foible idée des lieux auquels elles servoient d'entrée.*"[27] A similar view had already been expressed by Jean Courtonne (1725): "*...les cheminées occupent les plus grand espace des chambres, qui paroîtraient grandes à la verité, si à ce défaut on n'ajoûtoit la petitesse des portes qui donnent une foible idée des lieux où elles conduisent.*"[28] Thus according to Courtonne and to J-F.Blondel, such small doors, a fashion imported from Italy, did not give an indication of the character of the spaces they were leading to. French architects seem to have addressed themselves to correcting this deficiency.

Using doors as signposts by making their appearance a guide to the areas into which they might lead constitutes the second change that took place in the design of doors. This was based on the existence of doors distinguishable by size and proportion: large ones were used in *grands appartements*, and smaller doors led to private and auxiliary spaces. Additional devices to make the main doors stand out were overdoors, and after approximately 1650, the use of two-leaved doors instead of single-leaved doors in main doorways. Some of d'Aviler's work (1691) still represented the earlier period.

In main rooms, each wall, as well as the entire room, had to be symmetrical as one progressed through it. In main rooms, such as *vestibules, salons* and *salles,* and in halls at the foot and top of the main stairs, the appropriate location of doors was, according to d'Aviler, in the centre of a wall where such spaces were used as *dégagements* between two separate *appartements* (fig. 51). In rooms *de Parade*, the doors were not in the centre of the end walls, but positioned to the side near the windows, forming the system of *enfilade* which aligned all the major doors of the *appartement* (*see* Chapter III, ***enfilade***, pp 150-3). In such situations, d'Aviler suggests that similar blind doors should be faked on the far side of the wall, to sustain the symmetry of the end walls of rooms.[29] The wall would thus contain a chimney piece or other prominent feature at its centre, and doors symmetrically located on either side of it. Where the second door was not required, the symmetry was maintained with a false or blind door, defined in d'Aviler's dictionary: "*Porte Feinte; .C'est une décoration de Porte de pierre ou de marbre, ou un Placard de menuiserie avec des ventaux dormans, opposé ou parallele à une vraye Porte pour la symmetrie.*"[30] (a *porte feinte* was the reverse of a *porte mobile*, or working door). Le Camus de Mezières's view of the symmetry of elements has been mentioned (*see above*, p 188). To sustain the element of symmetry in private rooms as well, J-F. Blondel under the heading "Distribution Particuliere des Appartemens Privées", indicates in his lectures, that the blind doors could be put to practical use. He suggests that all manner of indispensable cupboards, etc. could be created behind such doors.[31] In a similar vein, d'Aviler (1710) explain that the doors at the ends of *enfilades*, were often made to give the impression that they led to further rooms, whereas in fact they opened and closed cupboards, which were very *commode*.[32] An example of this can be seen on the ground floor plan of the Hôtel de Noirmoutier (fig. 25). Wall cupboards served to conceal items that might disrupt the clarity of the room. This was of particular significance in main rooms which fulfilled more than one function. A slightly different kind of blind door appeared in J-F. Blondel's plan for the Ground floor of his *Maison de Plaisance* (1737-8). He showed the two end doorways in the *Sale de Compagnie* as false doors. One door was recessed in the wall and led nowhere, the other led to a *dégagement*. This second door looked like a two-leaved door in the main room; however, only one leaf opened, and only this single leaf was visible in the auxiliary space (fig. 40a). If this example seems to contradict the earlier statement that size was a criterion by which doors indicated the character of the spaces into which they led, one should bear in mind J-F. Blondel's disclaimer or apology which stated in the *Traité d'Architecture dans le Goût Moderne* (1737-8): "*J'ai déja dit qu'il y avoit quelques*

fondemens faites à ce Château, lorsque je fus chargé d'y travailler...il m'a fallu conservr les deux aîles qui étoient déjà fondées en équerre du côté de la cour...Je n'ai donc pû arranger les distributions du dedans, que suivant la forme de la cage...".[33] As the illustration shows, the shell of the wing in which the *Sale de Compagnie* was situated was of a *simple* depth. In such circumstance the ingenuity of merging the requirements set by the rules of architecture, i.e. symmetry, with the requirements of *commodité* demonstrated itself: the symmetry of the *grand appartement* prevailed in the appropriate room, while respecting the need for *commodité* and the appropriate sizing of a door which led to the confined space of the adjacent *dégagement.*

One needs to distinguish between double doors, and two-leaved doors, as used in treatises. Both d'Aviler, and J-F. Blondel spoke of double doors. In his Dictionary, d'Aviler defines the term *porte double* as: "*.. qui est à deux ou quatre ventaux opposée à une autre dans la même Baye, soit pour la seureté ou le secret du lieu, soit pour y conserver la chaleur.*" That is, it was made up of two separate doors, parallel and behind one another, with a gap between them — usually the depth of the wall, in which the door opening was situated — each door being flush with the surface of one side of the wall. As both served the same door-opening, in order to exit one had to open and pass each of them in turn. D'Aviler indicates that either two or four door-leaves may be involved. As two door-leaves, one behind the other, could make up a double door, one would be confronted by a single door-leaf when facing such a doorway. Small doors were always single-leaved. This was true only until around 1650 for larger doors in French houses. Jean Le Pautre's engravings (1659-1685) show examples of symmetrically designed walls in main rooms with a centrally placed chimney-piece, and doors on either side of it. Each of these doors was single-leaved, with heavy, square-edged details (fig. 52). By the time d'Aviler (1710-1760), and J-F. Blondel were published, door detail had become much lighter, finer, more curvilinear (in decoration, and at times in outline), but most particularly, doors to main rooms of an *hôtel* along the display route for visitors were now two-leaved, or French doors (fig. 53). Walking through the centre of the opened two-leaved doors imparted to the person so doing the experience of forming the central element of a symmetry (rather than just viewing it).

J-F. Blondel's conviction of the appropriateness of the use of such doors can be seen from his statement: "*Nous ne parlons pas ici des portes a un seul ventail, parce qu'ordinairrement elles ne sont que pour les etages en galetas ou pour de petits appartemens...*".[34] From this, together with his previously mentioned comment on the need to make doors indicative of the spaces into

which they lead,[35] one can deduce that doors of any significance in the large *appartements* were not single-leaved. To clarify the distinction between the two types of doorway, J-F. Blondel advises that in general small doors should not be wider than three *pieds*. However, the minimum width of two-leaved doors, should be four-and-a-half *pieds*, as this would permit easy passage (through two-and-a-quarter *pieds*), when only one leaf was opened. Both doors would be opened for visitors (so that host and visitor could go through side by side). He further added, that notwithstanding the dimensions of an *appartement*, its doors (doorways) should never exceed six *pieds* in width.[36] D'Aviler's earlier consideration of the subject, however, had led him to the conclusion that no door(way) in a *grand appartement* should exceed four *pieds* in width. Even though no justification was given for the maximum dimensions of doorways, it is possible that they were based on practical decisions. There was the constructional problem of spanning a lintel over the doorway in a load-bearing wall, which with increased width became more difficult. The proportions of doorways had to be taken into account: four *pieds* in width called for eight *pieds* in height, and with the over door on top, the rooms would be very high. The symmetry of the wall in which such doors appeared also set some restrictions. Two doorways and a main element were to span the wall, and some solid areas of wall were also required. Both d'Aviler and J-F. Blondel believed that any door opening greater than three *pieds* in width, should be closed by two-leaved doors.

Le Camus de Mezières, who in *Le Génie de l'Architecture* (1780), discussed various spaces within a house, stressing their impact on one's senses and their usages, omitted any mention of detail in rooms. Doors, like the other major elements, did not receive the same treatment in this work that which they were given by Savot, d'Aviler, or J-F. Blondel. He mentions doors in rooms only cursorily, never as focal elements. When a year later he published his practical instruction in *Le Guide de ceux qui veulent Bâtir* (1781), the subject of doors appeared (with no particular significance attached to them), as did other building elements, materials and costing. Nonetheless, he mentioned the fact that small doors could be two, two-and-a-half, or three feet wide, in which case their height needed to be seven feet, due to the hairstyle then fashionable. A remark in a similar vain was reported to have been made by Montesquieu (1689-1755), with the comment that when designing entry doors to *appartemens*, architects in the reigns of Louis XIV frequently had to bypass the rules of architecture in order to accommodate women's wigs.[37] According to the *Guide*, doorways more than three *pieds* wide should be closed by two leaves

and their height should be two and one sixth times their width (i.e. the door opening). It mentions that the wood thickness had to be increased with increased door size.[38]

From transcripts of Sir John Soane's lectures (1809-1836) it is clear that he considered two-leaved doors, which he termed "folding doors" (with their height twice their width), a French invention. He also noted that they were being copied, poorly, in England early in the nineteenth century: "...the constant practice of the French Architects, from whom we have borrowed the idea of large Folding Doors. . .The modern fashion consists of making very wide Folding Doors, frequently six, or seven feet in Width, in Rooms that will not allow them to be more than seven, or eight feet at most in Height. . . .This is extremely offensive to the eye, however much custom may induce us to tolerate such Proportions".[39]

In drawings doors were shown closed, and hinges did not normally feature. Principal doors were generally placed in load-bearing walls, the thickness of which was deep enough to accommodate, and hide, a single leaf of a two-leaved door when it stood open in the door embrasure. Doors that opened in this fashion left the room less cluttered, and thus looked as if their functioning had been taken into account when considering the design of the room. Laugier considered that the *commodité* of a lodging depended on internal *distribution*, which in turn relied on close attention to the smallest of details.[40] He advised that in order to ensure that *appartements* were *commode*, one should make sure that doors were not too numerous. Like Savot, he suggested that when two-leaved doors stood open, their leaves should not project beyond the thickness of the wall, and that they should close easily and perfectly.[41] While this advice as to the direction in which doors should open makes sense from the pens of two theoreticians who were not architects it was not the only direction in which doors opened in practice. This can be ascertained from illustrations in which open doors featured. Some show doors that swung into the room, while others show doors that swung into the wall recess (fig. 54).

The two-leaved doors, symmetrical in themselves (about their vertical axis), further heightened the general sense of symmetry of a room, especially in the processional direction when both leaves were opened (by livery staff) for visitors to go through the middle. This enlivened the sense of symmetry, and lent it an experiential aspect. The visitor was not only surrounded by

symmetry, but became its central element as he passed through the doorway. The impression of grandeur, made by such doors in public rooms was further enhanced by the superimposed over doors, and by the gilding which drew the eye to them, quite intentionally (fig. 55). In France, the use of gold was a luxury which had always been a prerogative of royalty and the nobility.

The significance of doors in houses lies in the physical barrier they form, the separation which they create between the two different environments that exist on either side of them. In formal settings, such as *hôtels particuliers*, different types of door, had different connotations (*see above*, pp 192-3). The front door, which separated the urban, public expanse from the private domain, had a particular importance. It was the first encounter with the ceremonial behaviour expected in the house. As one progressed through the *hôtel* one was confronted with other doors that opened into areas of different levels of ceremonial, and privacy. Guide books that set out to educate the young (in particular, young men) as well as others, instructed them in the appropriate behaviour and civility when negotiating doors. It specified behaviour that was considered compatible with the accepted code of manners when stepping over the threshold of *hôtels particuliers.*

Antoine de Courtin , in the *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnestes gens* (1671) advises his young readers that it is uncivil to knock hard on the house door of a *grand seigneur*, or to knock more than once. He further counsels that it is an effrontery to enter, unannounced, a house where one is a complete stranger. Once in the house, it is uncivil to keep one's hat on in *antichambres* and *salles.*[42] The anonymous *La Civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnêtes gens, pour l'Education de la Jeunesse* (1772) repeats the rules for knocking on doors and the need to be introduced if one is not known to members of the household. He also says that a rider should not ride into a courtyard, but enter on foot, and that anyone in a carriage (*carosse*) should enter the court in the carriage only if the owner's permission had been extended. He repeats de Courtin's advice about taking off one's hat, and adds that the person entering a room was obliged to greet first.[43] In *L'art de plaire dans la Conversation* (1690), Dorante advises his nephew Lisidor that: "*Quand vous allez voir une personne d'un rang qui est dessus de vôtre condition, vous savez apparemment que c'est en user avec trop de familiarité, que d'entrer en carosse, ou en Chaize dans la cour de sa Maison.*

La civilité veut qu'on descende pour entrer à pied, à moins que le Suisse; par ordre de son Malitre, n'ouvre la grand' porte, & ne vous prie d'entrer plus commodément."[44] De La Salle's *Les Regles de la Bienscéance et de la Civilité Chretienne* (1729 and later editions, first published in 1695) was more specific. He advises his readers that when the door of the house one had come to visit is shut, one should not bang violently, but knock gently, but so that it would be heard. His 1774 edition added that if the door was furnished with a bell, rather than a door knocker, one should not pull the string too violently, for fear of breaking it. Enough time should be left between knocks, or rings, to allow a *domestique* to open the door. If after two or three knocks or rings there is no reply, one should leave, and return at another time. He also suggests with whom to leave a message, if the person one has come to visit is not in. De La Salle considered it a mark of incivility to enter a house with one's hat on, and he thought that one should put it on again only on leaving the house.[45] The inside of the hat should be held against one's body.[46]

According to de La Salle(1729) there were three different manners of greeting. The first and most common, was to remove one's hat with one's right hand, look modestly at the person being greeted, then lower one's eyes and bow, advance a few steps and bow again with one's right foot slightly in front of the left. When greeting an assembly of people, he says that one should slide one's foot forward to greet the most important person present and then draw one's left foot back to greet those first on one side and then on the other. The second, when greeting while a conversation is going on, is to raise one's hat or slightly incline oneself and if one is standing, slide one's foot very slightly. One was not to enter anywhere where people were present, without greeting them first. The third was an unusual form practised when coming in from outside or when someone was leaving on a voyage. This is similar to the first, only one removed one's right glove, bowed deeply, bringing the hand nearly to the ground, then raising it to one's mouth as if to kiss it.[47] De La Salle (1774) discusses only two ways of greeting. The first is similar to the first in the 1729 edition. When greeting an assembly of people, he says one should advance into the *appartement*, first to the right, then to the middle and last to the left, advancing a few steps each time if space permitted. De La Salle believed that this ceremonial should be observed even among equals. He advises that no embarrassment should be caused to the host through excessive bowing, obsequiousness or affectation. For the second form of greeting, suitable only among equals, one might kiss the person one was visiting. He did not consider it seemly for an inferior to kiss a superior. Also, one should observe the *honnête* form of kissing

used among polite people.[48] In *La Civilité Nouvelle* (1671), L.D.L.M. advised his reader that if he met a person of higher status than himself in a doorway or in a narrow passage, he should let that person pass first.[49] The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) considered the host's apparel and weaponry when answering the door, even if it was a child who answered: "*S'il port l'épée* [i.e. if the host is an *ecuyer* or a *chevalier*], *il doit recevoir à la porte cette personne (de grande qualité) l'épée au costé, les gants & le chapeau à la main; S'il ne porte pas l'épée, il doit la recevoir à la porte avec son manteau sur les deux épaules les gants & le chapeau à la main.*"[50]

When visitors leave the house, de La Salle advises the host to escort his guests as far as the front door. If they are leaving in a carriage, he should escort them to it and give the ladies a hand up. Officials were excused from such ceremonials, and were obliged to escort their visitors only as far as the door of the room. When company assembled, and some visitors are leaving, while others stay, the behaviour of the host should be governed by the distinction of the persons who leaving in comparison with that of those remaining. The host should remain in the company of the highest ranking. When a lady gets up to leave, the assembled company should rise and escort her to the door of the *appartement* and even further if respect so dictates, still according to de La Salle.[51] The anonymous *Regles de la Bienseance ou de la Civilité moderne* (1781) advises that one should escort a visitor who has arrived on foot as far as the road and see them go. If the visitor is a lady then "*...il est de l'honneteté de la reconduire chez elle, particuliérement quand c'est une jeune personne, sur-tout s'il est nuit, ou qu'il y ait loin jusqu'en son logis.*"[52] It further advises: "*Si ce Seigneur* [host of higher status] *vous reconduisoit jusq'uà la porte de la rue, ne montez ni à cheval, ni en chaise, ni en carowsse en sa présance...mais priez-le de rentrer dans sa maison avant que d'y monter: s'il s'obstinoit, allez-vous-en à pied & laissez suivre votre voiture, jusqu'à ce qu'il ne paroisse pas.*"[53]

The visitors, and their host would file out through the two-leaved doors, with great ease, while continuing in conversation with another person. The *comtesse de Genlis* (1746-1830), in her *Dictionnaire critique et raisonné des Etiquettes de la Cour, et des usages du Monde* (1818), wrote of a society which she considered somewhat less formal. In the past, she claimed, dinners in Paris were renowned, the courtesy of those present was perfect and amiable, so that cold ceremonial could be dispensed with, "*l'on évitoit avec soin, dans la société, tout ce qui pouvoit ressembler à l'Etiquette et rappeler l'idée de quelque inégalité dans les rangs...Les femmes*

d'abord sortient toutes du salon; celles qui étoient le plus près de la porte passoient les premières...les hommes passoient ensuite."[54]

Manuals of behaviour also considered accepted practice with regard to internal doors. De Courtin writes that it shows a lack of worldliness to knock on the door to a room or *cabinet*,; one should scrape it with one's fingernail instead.[55] This advice is repeated by others. Also, doors should be shut quietly.[56] *L'Art de plaire dans la Conversation* (1690) elaborates on the derivation of this: "*Cette mode est descenduë des portes du Louvre, a celles des Ministres & des Grands de la Cour, & je ne doute point qu'elle ne s'établisse insensiblement dans toutes les maisons où il y aura quelque qualité...*".[57] As previously mentioned in connection with rooms, de La Salle adds that however well one is known in a house, one should not enter an *appartement* without some warning, even when the door is open.[58] Also, if the person one is visiting is is talking to someone, one should not advance into the room, but remain near the door, until an indication to advance is given.[59] Within rooms, the place nearer the door was considered of lesser significance. Those placed nearer the door were therefore also of lesser standing with the host, and of a lesser status.[60]

WINDOWS

Windows, the second element on whose location and proportions both the grandeur and the convenience of *appartements* depended, also underwent changes during the period. The Hôtel de Rambouillet was held to herald the introduction, in France, of windows with elongated proportions in the first decade of the seventeenth century (*see also*, p 116). Some elongated windows reached down to the floor as "french windows", referred to by J-F. Blondel as: *portes croisées* . In French the word for window, like that for door, usually referred to the window-opening or frame, rather than to the light itself. J-F. Blondel gives an historical background to the development of windows in France: "Windows , as well as doors, had been very small for a long time, in order to avoid accidents, to which one had been constantly exposed during the civil wars of the previous centuries, and also in imitation of Italian practice, small windows being customary there because of the heat. But at present they are made much larger even in country houses, where the heat, cold, and light may be fierce, depending on the season of the year."[61] He thought, however, that the new larger windows, might generate some structural dangers if the piers between windows were too narrow in order to sustain the stresses and strains to which

they would be subjected (Soufflot's Church of Sainte-Geneviève, now the Panthéon 1776;1790s, is perhaps an example of what he warned against). He believed that the width of the solid piers should be at least half the width of the windows for structural reasons. He thought, however, that external *convenance* and internal need for light suggested that the wall width should never exceed the width of openings, except at the corners of buildings, where they might be as much as one-and-a-half times or even twice the width. The overall height of a window-opening should not exceed two-and-a-half its width. Blondel pointed out the existence of two types of windows, those with a sill and those that stretched down to the floor, and he strongly advised that the number of windows in a wall on any one floor be uneven.[62] Symmetry with a central element could thus be maintained.

D'Aviler had already classified windows, like doors, in three sizes: *grandes*, *moyennes*, and *petites.* He considered the large ones suitable for churches and public buildings as well as for the *sallons* and *galleries* of houses, here they would be larger than any other windows on the façade. He designated the use of *moyennes* windows for use in *appartements.* The *petites croisées* were for use in *entresols* or mezzanines, dormers, *yeux de bœuf*, lower ground floors and openings of other auxiliary spaces such as *Cabinets* and *Garderobes* that did not require much light.[63] He also gives a derivation for the terminology of windows: "*... les moyennes qu'on nomme Croisées* [i.e. cross windows] *parce qu'autrefois on en partageoit la baye par plusieurs Croissions* [transoms] *ou Méneaux* [mullions]*de pierre, comme il s'en voit encore au vieux Louvre...*" (fig. 56).[64]

D'Aviler recommended that windows in private houses, and in general use should always be between four and five feet wide, while their height depended on the height of the ceilings. He disapproved of the new practice of doing away with balustrades (whether in iron, or in stone) in windows that extended down to the floor. He thought it more convenient to look out of a window while leaning on a sill, which should incline outwards to allow water to run off. He suggested piers and windows of equal widths.[65] Savot (1624) had already suggested that windows should be the same height throughout a floor.[66] The practice of spacings windows symmetrically in horizontal rows along the façade, with windows of different heights on different floors, according to a prescribed rule that gave façades an air of harmony of composition, was adopted generally in the design of Parisian *hôtels.* The proportions of these windows, usually

designed to suit internal room usage, followed a pattern which distinguished French town houses from their Italian predecessors. It was such a significant concept in Parisian *hôtel* design that even if a window served two floors, it appeared as a single window on the façade (figs. 57a-e; 29c). This French mode of dealing with the pattern that windows made in a façade contrasted with that in Italy. Palladio's treatise, for example shows designs where the vertical dimensions and disposition of windows followed a system different from that followed in Parisian *hôtel* elevations (figs. 16a-c; 58a-c; 57a-e; 29c). In Italian houses, moreover, the spacing of windows and walls, was not maintained throughout a floor. Also, small windows made their appearance on Italian façades in places where the French would prevent small mezzanine windows from showing even if they were placed symmetrically. The view that small *entresol* windows should not show was expressed by Le Camus de Mezières (and by others,*see above* pp141-2) "*Si la commodité demande un étage d'entresol, faites en sorte qu'il ne soit pas marqué sur la façade, il donneroit un air foible, pauvre et gâteroit la beauté de l'ensemble.*"[67]

D'Aviler considered that the windows of the *bel-étage* — or first floor, the tallest in a façade — should be subjected to some internal restrictions set by the rooms they served. He specified that their architraves should end below the ceiling cornice and cove, that they should be between five and six feet wide, and that their height should be two-and-a-sixth times their width[68] (these last proportions had been preferred for windows be Savot.[69]). Also that the height of those on the second floor should be one and two thirds times their width, and the height of those on the third floor, one-and-a-half times their width. That the windows of all floors were to align vertically. That only the *petites croisées*, also termed *mezzanines*, or *bastardes*, might be wider than they were high. Since they had to align in width with windows below them on the façade, their width was given by the windows below. That in the *corp-de-logis simple*, as well as in the wings, windows on opposite walls had to face one another directly: "*Dans les corps-de-logis simples & les bastimens en aisles, les Croisées doivent estre directement opposées, tant à cause des poutres que des fermes du combles.*"[70] This last remark was possibly directed at two separate earlier practices that had been superseded by d'Aviler's time. The first concerns the placement of windows opposite one another in opposing walls a *corps de logis.* Savot's guidelines read: "*Les autres croisées & fenestres de la salle, ne se doiuent regarder diametralement, ainsi auoir tousiours la muraille de l'autre costé en face: Car par ce moyen les iours ne s'ésuanouïssent au dehors: outre ce que la salle demeurera beaucoup*

mieux éclairée."[71] In his augmented, and annotated editions of Savot F. Blondel noted: "*Je ne sçay pas comment cet Auteur a pû entendre que les fenestres des salles & des chambres, conservant leurs symmetrie par dehors & par dedans, il y en ait toujours deux diametralement opposées l'une l'autre, qui sont celles qui éclairent la table par les deux bouts, & que toutes les autres ne se doivent regarder diametralement, mais avoir, comme il dit, toûjours la muraille de l'autre costé en face.*"[72] The second of these practices that had been superseded by the time of d'Aviler related to d'Aviler's specification that windows terminate below the ceiling cornice and cove. De l'Orme's *Nouvelles Inventions pour bien bastir et a petits fraiz* (1561), illustrates windows which encroach on the underside of the ceiling cove between the beams (fig. 59), and which he explains in Chapter XI: "*Comme on doit faire les fenestres croisees plus hautes que la naissance des poutre, à fin de donner meilleure clarté ou plus de iour dedans les lambris.*"[73] Some years later, in *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture* (1568),he advises: "*Quand à la hauteur, i'ay tousiours cogneu par experience que pour rendre vn logis fort plaisant, la hauteur des fenestres croisées doit estre en arriere voulsure fort pres des planchers, ou souliues, comme de demy pied, ou enuiron.*"[74] By the time in which d'Aviler was writing, ceiling heights, and particularly those of the *bel-étage*, were much greater than in the past (i.e. in de l'Orme's time), so that even tall windows did not need to encroach on the underside of the ceiling cove in order to let plentiful light into the rooms. But further, it seems that in order to sustain a visual harmony within a room, the underside of the ceiling cornice needed to be continuous (*see* Chapter III, pp 160-1) and the complete outline of the windows needed to be visible from any point in the room. Windows which overran the underside of the cornice could be seen only partially from any point in a room, and thus did not enhance the experience of continuous harmony of design, within the room. Savot believed in similar vertical subdivision of façade heights on multi-storey buildings in towns (where there was less available light than in the countryside) to that of d'Aviler: "*Les estages...ne doiuent estre esgaux: Car l'inferieur doit estre tousiours plus exhausé que le superieur, principalement aux villes,...pour apporter...aussi plus de clarté, & de iour aux estage bas.*"[75]

In Savot's view, the assessment of window sizes had to take into consideration the cardinal direction in which the windows faced, the cold in winter and the heat in summer caused by large openings, but also the melancholy and darkness that small ones would generate.[76] Le Camus de Mezières, who did not describe window dimensions, relied instead on room colours to

establish the desired atmosphere in rooms. The rather precise specification for window sizes, like those for doors — especially the ones in *enfilades* — convey the message that both were crucial in the overall design of the building, and that the decisions governing them were based on the internal use of *hôtels*.

In addition to the changes in windows attributed to the *marquise de Rambouillet:* "*La chambre bleue...d'un emmeblement de velours bleu, rehaussé d'or & d'argent...Ses fenêtres sans appui, qui regnent de haut en bas, depuis son plat-fond jusqu'à son parterre, la rendent très-gaie, & la laissent jouir sans obstacle de l'air, de la vue & du plaisir du jardin.*"[77] and to the historical developments reported by J-F. Blondel (*see* p 203), d'Aviler mentions changes made in the construction of windows. He notes (1691): "*On fait à présent plus de chassis à verre que de croisées à panneaux de verre, parce que ces chassis se peuvent ouvrir par deux, quatre ou six venteux.*"[78] To which a note was subsequently added in d'Aviler (1710 & 1760): "*Ceci se rapporte au tems que Daviler écrivoit, car aujourd'hui les chassis à verre ne se font plus qu'a deux ventaux...*".[79] That is, in d'Aviler's time window lights were no longer held in place by fixed stone, iron or wood crossings. Instead, by about 1691 several smaller wood casements formed a window. Some were placed above one another, others next to one another (fig. 60). By 1710, however, according to d'Aviler, only two casements were used, including french windows. Even if french windows were not in common use on the *bel-étage* in 1691, a letter from *marquise de Sévigné* to her daughter (*comtesse de Grignan*) in 1672 makes it clear that they had recently been installed in the royal palace: "*L'autre jour, M. de Berni, à Versailles, passa par une fenêtre, croyant passer par une porte, et tomba du premier étage...Voilà ce que sont les croisées coupées jusq'en bas. On ne saurait jamais manquer à maitre partout des garde-fous.*"[80] In his original text D'Aviler continues to explain that no mullions were fixed in the window frame that contained adjacent casements, as they themselves were fitted with rebates. This both shut them and stopped the wind from blowing in (fig. 61). A drip across the bottom deflected water outwards, away from the window.[81] Such devices were intended to increase comfort in houses. Savot had already raised the problem of rainwater splashing on windows. According to him, the Germans placed their windows some nine or ten inches further out, in the thickness of the wall, than the French. A most useful internal sill was formed, water was prevented from splashing on windows [and collecting on the outer sill] and consequently the erosion of outer sills was prevented.[82] One knows Sir Henry Wotton's (1624) opinions of albeit Italian windows, and of

problems that sound similar to complaints about windows in France at a later date: "...There is no part of *Structure* either more expencefull, then *Windowes*; or more ruinous; not onely for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather; but because consisting of so different and vnsociable pieces, as *Wood, iron, Leade*, and *Glasse*, and those small and weake, they are easily shaken...touching *doores*...And were commonly of two *Leaues* or *Panes*, (as we call them) therby requiring indeed, a lesser *Circuit* in their *vnfoulding*; And therefore much in vse among *Italians* at this day; But I must charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, they keepe out worse."[83] It is not absolutely clear whether, in the latter part, he was describing two-leaved doors or two-leaved windows, but the remark would hold true for both.

In order to reduce the draughts and ingress of water only too common with the earlier leaded windows, d'Aviler (1691) advanced new practices in the construction of windows, in France. Such improvements encompassed the use of drips, the rebating of timber glazing-bars, the use of putty for fixing the glazing, the reduction in size of timber sections, the increased size of glass areas, the use of double glazing, as well as internal shutters,[84] the secure closure of the tall french windows by espagnolettes (*see also* fig. 62).[85]

Changes in windows can be observed contemporary illustrations of in interiors starting with the prints Abraham Bosse (1602-1676). The changes occurred in several steps. In the early leaded windows, large numbers of small rhomboid or other geometrically shaped panes of glass were inserted in single casements. If greater expanses of glass were desired two or three single casements, were placed one over the other (fig. 63). Although the effect was of taller windows and brighter rooms than previously, the individual casements thus remained small. Once windows reached down to the floor the opening was closed by two-leaved glass doors with squared glass panes held in place by wooden glazing bars (fig. 64). Some engravings and paintings also show windows that may have been sash-windows (figs. 65a; 65b). Although D'Aviler's Dictionary contains the entry: "*Chassis à coulisse, celui dont la moitié se double, en la haussant sur l'autre.*", this type of window was mentioned neither in writing, nor in illustrated details in architectural treatises.

Windows also made their appearance in royal edicts (*see*, p 166) Prior to the introduction of

plumbing in houses, water was emptied through windows from upper floors, disregarding passers-by, a practice that an edict of 1608 was designed to prohibit. In days when spitting in public was still an accepted practice, even if one was expected to spit into a handkerchief or a spittoon according to manuals of manners, the *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) declared that spitting was not a good habit, and that a child should not spit out of windows.[86] The same work indicates that the the most prestigious place in a *salle* was near the window (*see* p 202) — the lesser place was near the door.[87] And de La Salle instructed his readers besides not whistling, singing, and touching the furniture while waiting in a *salle*, it was also not done to stare out of the windows.[88] On the other hand the anonymous *Regles de la Bienseance ou de la Civilité moderne* (1781) advised its reader that if he was invited to the window by a person to whom he owed respect in order to look out, then he was to: "*...gardez-vous bien de prendre place & de vous approcher ce cette fenêtre, qui vous seroit commune avec lui...*".[89]

Le Camus de Mezières, advised that grilles, and trellises should be placed in front of windows, just as they should be placed in front of fires in children's rooms, especially in the rooms of children under the age of five.[90]

The changes in the form of windows over the period had several causes. There were the technical, practical innovations, such as larger window panes, new methods of window construction, elimination of mullions and transoms and new devices for closure. Then there was fashion, and the progression from an earlier, heavier style of construction with heavier details, towards an airier, lighter one that let more light and air into rooms. To this one should add the use of lighter colours in the decoration of rooms and the introduction in the eighteenth century of mirrors, which also contributed towards their increased brightness (*see below*, **fireplaces**, p 214). In addition, the new Academic rules of French architecture encouraged architects to create façades in which the proportions, dimensions and placement of windows played a part.

Shutters

Shutters provided greater protection than windows alone from attack, cold and draught. They also provided a level of privacy, but this aspect was not discussed in treatises, although their use

in keeping out the sun and light was considered. The shutters, or *guichets*, opened internally into rooms. D'Aviler derived the term *guichet:* "*du vieux mot Huichet,ou petit Huis selon Borel...guichet de croisée...on donne aussi ce nom aux Volets, qui se ferment par dedans.*" As long as casements were placed above one another as well as adjacent to one another in a window opening, with fixed partitions between them, each had its individual shutter constructed as a small, solid wooden door. (The French did not follow the Dutch practice of providing shutters for the lower parts of windows only.) Windows and shutters opened into the room. The shutter casements were smaller than the windows and were hinged onto them, as at Vaux-le-Vicomte (figs. 60; 66). Once windows occupied the entire length of an opening, without any fixed mullions and transoms, their appearance when open was tidier, as was the appearance of the room into which they now protruded only slightly beyond the depth of the walls. With this development, the joinery of shutters also changed. As long as the shutters were hinged to the windows they protruded into the room. Later, shutters were no longer attached to the window casements, but were constructed independently. They were made up of hinged, narrower sections that could be folded back on themselves to fit into the splay of the window frame when not in use. D'Aviler writes of this latest development: "*.. Ils s'appellent volets brisez quand il se plient sur l'écoinçon ou qu'ils se doublent dans l'embrassure...*" (fig. 67a; 67b).[91]

D'Aviler (1710-1760) mentions that since the use of internal (solid) shutters stopped air from penetrating into a room as well as keeping the sun out, architects had resorted to a new measure: "*especes de jalousies ou chassis de bois qui s'ouvrent en-dehors, comme les contrevents, et sur les quels sont assemblés à égale distance des triangles de bois en abajours, qui font le même effet que les Stores à l'égard du soleil, et laissent circuler l'air dans la chambre. On nomme ces jalousies des Persiennes*;" they considered, however, that these slatted shutters were more suited to country houses, where, when painted green they enlivened the façades.[92] Another type of external shutter in use at least late in the eighteenth century, can be seen on an engraving by Philibert-Louis Debucourt (1755-1832), "La Croisée" (1791), which shows an external "Venetian Blind" (fig. 68).

The term *paravent* appears in the 1771 *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* with two definitions. The first relates to external shutters, the other to large draught-screens, covered in either cloth or paper. Such screens were used in rooms, close to doors, near the fire and around beds, for protection

from draughts (fig. 69).[93] The importance of both shutters and screens, as this study shows, lies in the protection which they gave to the *hôtel* user in order to increase comfort and so the harmonious or congenial existence within them.

Curtains

Draughts, particularly in the main or public rooms of *hôtels*, appear to have long been a cause for complaint. Sir Henry Wotton (1624) discussed the inappropriateness, in climates colder than that of Italy, of rooms aligned in *enfilade* (*see*, pp 150-2). In the same year Savot suggested that to prevent draughts, windows should not be located close to doors and should not depend on another for passage[94] (i.e. no *enfilades*). The problem persisted, however, as in 1755 Laugier suggested cutting down on the numbers of doors in order to achieve a comfortable *appartement*.[95] In order to reduce draughts during the winter months, door curtains or *portières*, were hung over doors. The word *portiere* appears in Jean Nicot's Dictionary (1621): "*...Il se prend aussi pour la petite piece de tappisserie qui est pendue devant l'huis d'une sale ou chambre, pour empecher le vent ou la veue...*". De l'Orme (1568) had written of "*...la tapisserie, qui est tousiours deuants vne porte...*".[96] In *Memoires critiques d'Architecture* (1702), Michel de Fremin aimed to remedy, among other things, the problem of draughts in French houses. He believed that neither *portieres* nor *paravents* were the solution. His option was a new kind of fireplace (*see below*, **fireplaces**, pp 212-6). His complaint about draughts reads: "*...ce n'est pas se chauffer que d'avoir toujours un froid mortel sur les épaules; au reins, et aux jambes, et aux talons, car l'utilité que l'on reçoit du feu se trouvant détruite par l'incommodité du vent; et malgré les portieres et paravens cette incommodité regnant tôujours, il ne convient point à un Honnête Homme de ne point remedier à ce mal...*".[97] Quatremère de Quincy considered, nonetheless, that: "*...L'objet de la Portière est le plus souvent de garantir une pièce de vent et du froid*" even though "*Quelquefois ce n'est qu'un ornement.* "[98]

Curtains, or *rideaux*, today primarily associated with windows, were in the past frequently associated with doors as well as with other locations (figs. 65a; 70a-e). In Nicot's Dictionary (1621) both *rideau et couverture de simulation* and *rideau de lict*" appear. Furetière (1690) notes the derivation of the word from the *rides*, or folds, it forms, and that apart from covering, or closing, something, a *rideau* was used to keep out strong light. Quatremère de Quincy writes that "*Rideau chez les Anciens*" were *portières*, used to close off door openings, which at that

time contained no doors. In his own time, however, curtains had a dual function: "*Les Rideau sont tout à la fois, dans les grands appartemens, des objets de nécessité ou de commodité, et des objets de luxe et d'ornement.*" He considered that the distinction between those functions lay in the type of materials used.[99]

Originally curtains hung straight down from a curtain rail, with no pelmet. The curtain was made of a single piece of cloth that was pulled open from an outside edge. In 1673, however, the "Mercure Gallant" reported that curtains were made up of two separate pieces of cloth that met at the centre, and these were more attractive and easier to use. After 1720 both window and door curtains were made of material that matched the fabric of the upholstery.[100] In 1740 vertically raised curtains *à l'Italienne* were installed at the Palais Rohan in Strasbourg.[101] Le Camus de Mezières (1780) covers curtains that contribute to the atmosphere of the bedroom. He believed that in bedrooms: "*tout y doit être simple et uniforme*" and that: "*Le jour sera foible et adouci, tel qu'on le peint au réveil de Vénus, lorsque les graces l'avertissent du lever de l'aurore.*" He then went on to suggest that "*Des rideaux de gaze tirés à la hauteur des deux tiers des croisées ne laisseront qu'autant de lumieres qu'il en convient à ce lieu. Les ombrres n'y doivent cependant pas être trop fortes.*"[102]

As a rule neither *portières* nor window curtains appear in the drawings that accompany architectural treatises, since they would have detracted from the architectural details that the treatises intended to elucidate. But despite the fact that items made of textiles did not belong to the purely architectural scheme of a house, and thus did not appear in architectural treatises, J-F. Blondel gave them a short mention in his *Architecture Françoise* under the heading "Des Tapisseries". He thought that tapestries made a pleasing contrast to wood panelling, and that they should be used principally in *chambres à coucher; salles d'assemblée; chambres du dais; cabinets de tableaux, antichambres &c.*: "They make the rooms warmer in winter, and in summer, when they are substituted by lighter ones, they give rooms an air of freshness. Such changes generate a sense of novelty in a house twice yearly; furniture covered in the same textile forms an *ensemble*...In place of tapestries, velvet, damask and so on, are often used in winter, and taffeta in summer. In small rooms that form one *appartement*, when hangings of the same colour are used, the ensuing uniformity makes these spaces appear larger than they really are."[103] It is clear from his description that the covers on furniture were changed to accommodate at least two

changes of season annually.

Despite de Fremin's comments on door curtains, it would appear that as long as people lived in large, through-rooms in *hôtels*, they had to resort to any available means of protection from the cold and draughts that resulted from poor window construction and detailing. Too many doors in one room, together with poorly designed chimney flues, also encouraged draughts in spaces that were too large for private habitation. However, until architectural and constructional solutions were devised to remedy these problems and increase comfort in houses — notably by the method of J-F. Blondel — it would seem that more modest solutions were resorted to, with the aid of items of internal furnishings.

FIREPLACES

Fireplaces were the third large element in rooms, after doors and windows, that received special attention in treatises. The rules of architecture, as expounded on in French architectural treatises, recommended that their size be proportional to the dimensions of the room, that their location aid its symmetry and that their prominence enhance the appearance of a room. However,heating formed a major component in the convenience and comfort of *appartements* and rooms in Parisian *hôtels*, but heating the large rooms in winter was a problem. And the problem was more acute in the earlier part of the period, when inhabitants both lived and slept in such rooms. The chimneypieces in these rooms were very large, almost large enough to stand in. They had to be correctly located and their size had to be proportional to the size of the room, both in dimensions, and in heating capacity. Inevitably, the heat was patchy and unevenly distributed, considerably greater near the fire than anywhere else in the high-ceilinged room. The question was tackled by those who attempted to achieve greater comfort in houses to create a more congenial way of living. When it came to fireplaces Sir Henry Wotton does not rely on the Italians: "In the present businesse, *Italians* (who make very frugall fires, are perchance not the best Counsellers.)...I will extract from *Philippe de l'Orme* : In this part of his *Worke* more diligent, then in any other, or, to doe him right, then any man else."[104] That is the French, who were subjected to a colder climate than the Italians, seemed to Wotton more discerning in this matter.

In his *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, Philibert de l'Orme claims, that the encouragement of

friends led him to add Book Nine, on the subject of fireplaces. This book addresses the questions: "*façon des cheminees, et de leurs mãteaux, ouuertures, tuyaux et ornements tãt interieurs, que exterieurs: sans y omettre la pratique de pouuoir tellement dresser et construire les cheminees, que elles ne soient subiectes à rendre fumée dedans les maisons.*" As according to de l'Orme, a house in which the fireplaces emitted smoke could be neither sold nor let.[105] In this book he includes "*plusieurs moiens pour garder que lesdictes cheminées n'incommodent les logis par fumées, molestes et deplaisantes aux habitants...plusieurs secrets, aides et remedes pour garantir de telles incommoditez...* ".[106] He believed that the correct location for a fireplace was: "*...pour une salle...tousiours eriger au milieu entre les croisées, ou...les portes s'il s'y en trouve deux...*".[107] As to its location in the depth of the room, or rather, in the depth of the wall: "*...vne chose...forte bõne pour garder qu'il ne fume en vne salle, ou chambre c'est de mettre les cheminées dedans le mur tant autant que faire se peult.*" This had the added attraction that the fireplaces: "*...ne donnent empeschement dans les salles.*"[108] Another way to avoid smoke was to introduce a mantelpiece: "*...auantage qu'en faisant bas les mãteaux des cheminées, cela sert qu'elles ne soient suiettes à fumée, et que le visage ne soit offensé en se chauffant. Oultre ce elles rendent ainsi plus de chaleur dans le logis, pour auoir les pieds droicts aussi auãcez que le manteau...il aduient souuant que les vents des portes ou fenestres qui sont aux costez des cheminées, causent plustost fumées.*"[109] On the other hand "*...les petits lieux, comme les garderobbes, et cabinets, sont bien serrez et clos que le vent n y peult entrer, indubitablement ils sont suiects à fumées.*" He compares them to spherical vases with single openings. Since he thought that flame is but air, ignited and gently agitated, when flames die in the absence of agitation the fireplace smokes.[110]

Smoke sometimes resulted from a gust of wind sweeping through a chimney-flue and choking the fire. To keep the fire alive, a moderate, even, agitation of air was required, and de l'Orme suggested splitting the stack in two. This would ensure that the fire was not killed by the rush of air in the flue, as the second outlet would regulate the draught in the flue. He added, however, that it would not work everywhere, and that it was necessary to know the direction of the prevailing winds, in every specific location.[111] Another invention involved two copper globes, some five or six *pouces* in diameter, each with a small opening and filled with water. They were to be placed inside the fireplace, some four to five *pieds* off the floor. Once the heat from the fire heated these spheres and the water within, the water would evaporate through the hole and

produce air, which would disperse the smoke.[112] He also suggested a remedy that involved something that looked rather like a weather-vane in the fireplace, activated by smoke; this rotated the opening of the flue to regulate the air intake.[113] As green wood was certain to produce smoke, de l'Orme recommended that it was to be avoided at all times.[114]

D'Aviler (1691) classified fireplaces, as he had classified doors and windows, into three types depending on size: large, medium and small. The large ones were designated for kitchens, where they required no decoration and for *galleries, salles* and *salons*, where they reached their most ornate forms. In such locations, they could be between six and seven-and-a-half *pieds* wide, between four and five *pieds* high and between two and two-and-a-half *pieds* deep. The medium sized ones were for use in *anti-chambres, chambres* and *grands cabinets*, where they measured approximately four *pieds* wide, three *pieds* high and between eighteen and twenty *pouces* deep. The small fireplaces were used in small *cabinets* and in *garderobes,* where they measured between four and two *pieds* wide.[115]

When J-F. Blondel published some sixty years later (1752-6), he commented that the large fireplaces of the previous century, made in marble and decorated with sculptures and other adornments, were very costly and were the most ornate item in a room. He suggested that examples of large fireplaces could still be found in older French houses, in the works by Le Pautre and others. Blondel writes that these large, rectangular chimneypieces with their projections, their heavy ornaments, over-mantels and sculptures, as well as the dark cavities of their large openings contributed towards the formation of shadows, which increased the darkness in the room (figs. 52). In J-F. Blondel's own time their dimensions were reduced, their details were curvilinear and the new fashion for bronze ornaments, and above all mirrors, brightened the rooms (figs. 53; 74gi). The use of mirrors over chimneypieces in major rooms was, according to J-F. Blondel, first introduced by: "*M. Decotte, premier Architecte du roi...été le premier qui ait introduit les glaces sur les cheminées*",[116] presumably Robert de Côte (1656-1735).

At first there was some opposition, but once it had been recognized that mirrors helped to make rooms much brighter their use became common practice. J-F. Blondel suggested that a fireplace should be centred in the wall that was on the right-hand side as one entered a room,

and that a mirror of the same width, should be placed over it. A similar mirror had to be placed on the opposite wall, over a principal piece of furniture. This would make the rooms look larger and brighter with daylight, candle lights and the new bronze ornaments reflected and multiplied in them, as at the Hôtels de Bellisle, and de Tunis.[117] By locating mirrors, to face each other on opposite walls, an illusion of an infinite *enfilade* of lights and rooms was created. Aubert De la Chenaye-Desbois commented on this new fashion that it created "*tableaux mouvans*".[118]

D'Aviler (1710 -1760), who discuss these developments around fireplaces, also mention the use of firedogs or "*Les grilles ou feux qu'on place dans les foyers des cheminées pour y arranger le bois* ", and the new use of *garde-feux,* to prevent embers from rolling onto the wooden floor. In this work the problems connected with fireplaces were also aired, with the note that the purpose of having a fireplace in a room was to heat that room. It was therefore regrettable if, after they had been lavishly decorated, it was found that they were not fit for the purpose, and that the *appartements* in which they were fitted were consequently abandoned, a situation already lamented by de l'Orme.[119] The inadequacy of fireplaces was blamed, in d'Aviler (1710), on a variety of causes. At times, it was the unsuitable construction of the chimney stacks, often it was their poor positioning in relation to the doors or windows in the room, which resulted in their smoking, but most often the fault was considered to lie in the flue and chimney pots.[120]

The problem of smoke from fireplaces, had already been addressed by Savot — in fact he dedicated a whole chapter to "Des cheminées, et des moyens de les empecher de fumer."[121] He believed that to overcome the smoke problem, a door or window should be kept ajar in both large and small rooms. Since the fireplace required sufficient air to flow through the room to draw the the flame up the flue, if the flow was not continuous, the fire died out and there would be smoke in the room. Smoke also formed when the fire choked as a result of a flue that was too long and narrow, so that the air was not drawn through it.[122] So while a flow of air was required in a room to feed the fire, at least in the earlier type of fireplace, the same flow of air constituted a draught. Michel de Fremin, also concerned himself with the question of smoke from chimneys in his *Memoires* (1702). He invented his own solution. He placed the fireplace adjacent to the entrance door, in order to prevent the cold felt by those heating themselves by fires placed along an *enfilade.* He claimed that his solution was successful. For a long time he heard

honnêtes gens complain of mortal cold on the back and loins while they tried to warm themselves, and of distress caused by smoke. "*...il y avoit du ridicule d'y* [near the fire] *souffrir du froid par les épaules en se rotissant le nez, et aprés avoir pendant le jour allumé un grand feupour échauffer ma Chambre, je sentisse la nuit un grand froid, de l'air qui rentroit dans ma Chambre par la Cheminée...je conclus que l'opposition des cheminées aux portes forçait l'air à y entrer plus directement, et qu'en entrant dans les Chambres où elles sont placés derriere les portes, ce même vent n'y entrant que circulairement, il se répandoit dans toute la Chambre...*".[123] The *Dictionnaire Domestique Portatif* (1762-4) says that the inconvenience caused by smoke in fireplaces resulted from poor construction and the multiplicity of stacks, and that inventions to prevent the problem abounded, but that their effect was not too clear.[124] Though Aubert De la Chenaye-Desbois was one of the co-writers of this dictionary, when he published his own Dictionary in 1767 he informed his readers that "*M. Gauger, d'Après un livreallemand, imprimé à Leipsick en 1699, dit le Journal des Sçavans 1714...a donné, en 1713, un livre intitulé la Mechanique du feu, ou l'Art d'en augmenter les effets, et d'en diminuer la dépense.*

"*On y examine la disposition des cheminées la plus propre à augmenter la chaleur...*".[125] It gave explanations and provided some plans to illustrate the inefficient ordinary fireplaces with their rectangular back hearth space, formed by parallel internal walls and the fireback. To reflect heat into a room, the internal walls of the fireplace needed to be of parabolic shape. In plan, they were to be trapezoids, with the fireback considerably smaller than the front opening of the mantelpiece. The junctures between the inclined walls and the fireback were to be rounded off. Seven different constructions were displayed. However successful these devices might have been, de Luyens noted the chill in Louis XIV's room in December 1737, while the *comte de Polignac* complained about draughts and cold at the Tuileries under Louis XVI, as did others;[126] such alterations might or might not have been undertaken in them. And in 1755 Laugier was still suggesting that in order to prevent smoke from forming, fireplaces should face neither doors nor windows.[127] In order to prevent draughts, when not in use fireplaces were on occasion closed off by two small metal doors (fig. 71).

The correct behaviour around a fireplace was discussed in manuals of behaviour. The anonymous *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) advised its reader he should take care not to spit in the fireplace, or on the surrounds. A child was not to play with the logs, nor bend

over and sit on the floor next to the fire. Standing with one's back to the fire was not acceptable either, nor should one approach it more closely than others did.[128] In the anonymous *La Civilité qui se pratique en France* (1772) we find again that spitting in the fire was not done, nor was playing with the logs, sparks, or any appliance connected with the fire. It was also not proper, when visiting, to get up from one's seat and stand with one's back to the fire, unless others were also doing so.[129] *La Civilité nouvelle* (1671) also advised against standing with one's back to the fire, as well as approaching the fire closer than others, the reasoning being: "*...car l'un et l'autre sente sa* [*honneste compagnie*] *préeminence . Il n'est permis qu'au plus considerable, ou à celuy qui a charge du feu...*".[130] This might imply several things: one would be an indication that one was cold, which if seen as an admission of discomfort, not commensurate with good behaviour, another was simply the fact of stepping out of line and setting oneself first and upsetting the general scene of the harmony of the general group, or in della Casa's words: "*...dans les façons d'agir & dans les paroles...ne fassiez pas tant ce qui vous est agreable, comme ce qui plaist à ceux qui vous voulez faire connoissance.*"[131] To this de La Salle added that it was uncivil to warm one's hands at the fire. To take off one's shoes, to warm one's bare feet in the fire in the presence of others was even worse.[132]

According to *La Civilité qui se pratique en France* (1772), a lackey should not be permitted to bring the fire screen when a lady visited; it should be offered by the host. Ladies should not tuck up their skirts when near the fire (nor in the street, for that matter).[133] The matter of taking off and putting on one's coat indoors was also discussed in books of manners. For example, according to de Courtin (1672) and others, when entering a house and in the presence of important personages one should not be enveloped in one's coat. De La Salle was more specific about wearing one's coat over both shoulders, letting it hang forwards, not turning it up to expose one's arms or even worse to expose one's elbows.[134] Telling anyone to put on their coat appears to have been considered extremely uncivil, certainly if the person was of higher status. But it was unacceptable to tell equals and even to inferiors who were not one's own dependents to put on their coats. The subject could only be broached in a contrived way, by saying, for example, "*il est froid ici*", or more familiarly, "*voulez-vous m'en croire? laissons-là les façons, couvrons-nous*".[135] Presumably, the need to wear one's coat indoors was an indication that one felt cold, implying a deficiency in the immediate environment.

The *Braseros* was a large, four-wheeled, perforated metal cart, which could be filled with burning logs or peat and wheeled into a room. It was used in churches, but occasionally also in houses with large rooms.[136] Turf and peat had been used as fuel in France since the eleventh century, and under Louis XIII combustible balls that created neither smoke nor odour were produced in Paris, to a well-guarded secret formula; when burning their glow lit the room.[137] From the archives of Marc-René d'Argenson (1652-1721), *Lieutenant Général de Police*, Jacques Saint-Germain compiled *La Vie Quotidienne en France a la fin du Grand Siècle* (1965), in which he describes the difficulty of obtaining domestic fuel in Paris, because of a combination of unfortunate events. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), the number of wood merchants decreased as the majority of them had been Protestants. The tax on firewood contributed to the depopulation of forested regions after 1710, and the unusual fall in the water level of the Seine due to drought further exacerbated the situation since no wood was getting to the city by water. As a result, peat made its first appearance in Paris as a domestic heating fuel in 1714 although it had long been used as a fuel in areas near its source. The merchant and import company Galabin and Co. was granted the sole right to import the "blazing" from Scotland. They received guarantees of financial support in order to establish the new trade in this commodity which, it was thought, would be useful and much in demand. It was reputed to heat larger spaces than wood, to glow and to keep the fire going for longer than wood did. It was also cheaper than firewood for domestic heating.[138] A different way of keeping warm, at least in bed was the warming-pan. The *marquise de Rambouillet*, as noted by Tallemant de Réaux (*see* Chapter III p 160), suffered from direct heat and did not heat her room and "*La compagnie se va chauffer dans l'antichambre; quand elle gele, elle se tient sur son lict, les jambes dans un sac de peau d'ours,*"[139] and in the 1652 inventory of the Hôtel de Rambouillet a red leather warming-pan, *bassinoire,* was found in the *garderobe* adjacent to the *Chambre bleue.*[140]

The problem of draughts, cold, and fuel seems to have been of such national significance that *ordonnances* limiting the sizes of fireplaces were issued in 1712, and 1723.[141] It seems, as attested in a letter from *marquise de Sévigné*, a fashion for reducing the size of earlier chimneypieces was introduced in Paris around 1677: "*...nous avons l'hôtel de Carnavalet. C'est une affaire admirable...Comme on ne peut pas tout avoir, il faut se passer des parquets et des petits cheminées à la mode...*" (fig. 72).[142]

Early in the period, residential rooms, especially servants' rooms, rarely had a fireplace. From drawings of later alterations to *hôtels*, in the second half of the eighteenth century, it is apparent that they had become much more prevalent. The 1788 alteration plans for the Hôtel de Chaulnes may be taken as an example. There, the construction of new fireplaces in rooms where none had existed previously, including service rooms was proposed.[139] Prior to the universal insertion of fireplaces an alternative means of heating rooms was the stove, or *poële*, which was ordinarily less costly, and less ornate. J-F. Blondel prescribed it as a more appropriate way of heating first *anti-chambres*, for example. D'Aviler explains in his dictionary, that *poëles* are "closed iron containers, with a flue to let out the smoke from the burning wood. They are in use in cold countries, some are made of clay, and in Germany quite magnificent ones are produced". By the time Roland Le Virloys published his dictionary, he wrote under the heading *poèle* : "*On en fait à present à Paris, de toute forme, et d'une structure élégente, qui ne cédent en rien à ceux du Nord...*" (figs. 73a; 73b). These were large, enclosed glazed ceramic containers, and access to them was from an adjacent room. Le Camus de Mezières mentioned them as a suitable means of heating the main room occupied by children, and he explained: "*...ces poëles sont ordinairement de faïance, ils ne portent aucune odeur, le service s'en fait par l'antichambre.*"[144] This last ensured, of course, that children could not play with the logs or the fire.

BEDS

The largest, most magnificent items of furniture in *hôtels* were the beds in the main rooms. Though free-standing and not part of the architecture of the rooms, they nonetheless seem to have taken on an architectural function (figs. 74a-j). At the beginning of the seventeenth century they were still used purely for sleeping. Later, however, they served for sleeping only at some times of the year, or on certain occasions, while they became magnificent display pieces. In her investigation based on inventories taken after death, Pardailhé-Galabrun noted that beds, together with fireplaces, were the focal points of a room. As it was imbued with both symbolic and sentimental value, the bed was a prized article. Valuations of the contents of houses — including *hôtels* — listed the bed first in a room. They were found in main rooms, in *cabinets*, and even in kitchens and shops.[145]

In engravings of interiors, such as those by Bosse (1602-1676), beds are shown in most rooms,

irrespective of any other activities taking place in the rooms. Later this was no longer the case. The earlier practice of entertaining in rooms where one slept, and even from bed, was clearly an attempt to overcome the problem of vast, cold and draughty rooms, as has been mentioned by Pardailhé-Galabrun. The additional *couchettes* in bedrooms, mentioned both by Savot and La Curne de Sainte-Palaye may have been introduced for use as day beds, as depicted by the unknown author who writes under the name of Antoine Bourdeille: "*...canapés pour dormir à midi...*".[146] It could also be an assertion of a practice common in France in his time, of sharing rooms with one's domestics and others, and even sharing bed with them. This seems to have occurred amongst the French of all walks of life. The chronicler Alfred Franklin noted in his *Paris et les Parisiens au 16ème Siècle,* for example, that Henri IV had shared a bed with d'Aubigné, also that de Luynes and Louis XVI had each shared bed with other men. He also mentioned that ladies used to share their beds with their servants, even though additional beds were available in the same room.[147]

The practice of sharing rooms and beds, can also be illustrated from instructions in books of behaviour. P. Saliat's interpretation of Erasmus's *La civilité puérile* (1537) advises that if a child shares a bed he should take care not to pull the blanket off the child, nor disturb him.[148] De Courtin (1671), advises his reader that if he has to share room with a person to whom he owes respect, he should let them go to bed first. He should then undress demurely, near the side of the bed that he is to occupy. He should go to sleep quietly, and remain quiet during the night. And just as he went to bed last, good manners dictated that he should rise first, taking care that the other person did not see him in the nude, or in a state of undress or find his bed left in disorder.[149] De La Salle's *Les Regles de la Bienséance* (1695 and later) regarded the sharing of rooms as a rare occurrence: "*...mais lorsqu'on se trouve forcé de coucher avec une personne de même sexe, ce qui arrive rarement, il faut se teninr dans une modestie sévere & vigilante.*" He also stressed that rooms shared by members of both sexes, even if they were children, was quite unacceptable.[150] *La Civilité Puérile et Honneste* (1757), instructed its young reader not to share his room with anyone of the opposite sex, and to lock the door from the inside. If, however, the person of the opposite sex was his sister or his mother: " *cela est très-contraire à l'honnesteté, aussi-bien qu'à la pureté.*"[151] He suggested that one should not go to sleep lying on one's back, nor on one's stomach, but one's the right side.[152]

The *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Françoise* (1684) considers "*Des parties du corps qu'il faut cacher*" or "*ce que la nature luy enseigne de cacher*" and questioned why a child was not to uncover "*ses membres honteux*". His answer was: "*parce que cela est contre l'honnesté, & mesme contre la Loy de Dieu*",[153] as mentioned in the previous Chapter (*see* p 172), *La Civilité Puérile et Honneste* (1757) proposed a religious reason for not exposing one's nudity: "*Levez-vous donc...qu'aucune partie de votre corps ne paroisse nue, quand mesme vous seriez seul dans la chambre...cacher ce que la nature ne veut pas qui paroisse, & faites cela pour le respect de la Majesté d'un Dieu qui vous voit...*".[154] It also advises its reader not to leave the room unless fully clothed. De La Salle (1774) stresses the consequences of original sin (*see* Chapter III pp 172-3), and he spells out the matter of hiding one's nudity in greater detail: "*Il est de bienséance & de la pudeur de couvrir toutes les parties du corps, hors la tête & les mains; ainsi il est indécent d'avoir la poitine découvert, & les bras nuds, les jambes ses bas, & les pieds sans souliers: il est même contre la loi de Dieu de découvrir quelques parties de son corps, que la pudeur, aussi-bien que la nature, obligent de tenir toujours cachées*", to which he added "*l'estomac & le col découvert.*"[155] The 1729 edition of de La Salle's *Les Regles...Civilité Chrétienne* (which makes it clear that such writings were never intended solely for children), seems to have shown greater leniency than the later, 1774 edition. It included the reservation: "*L'amour qu'on doit avoir pour la pureté, aussi bien que l'honnêteté, doit engager ceux qui ne sont pas mariez, à ne pas souffrir qu'aucune personne de sexe différent entre dans la chambre où ils couchent, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient entierement habillé, & que leur lit soit fait.*"[156] For L.D.L.M. (1671) adds that a child should not leave his room partially dressed, or with a night-cap on. He was to keep his room as well as his desk tidy, as untidiness was particularly offensive to others.[157]

Large four-poster beds and other types of curtained beds are shown in all their complexity and intricacy by Thornton and others, while Pardailhé-Galabrun also lists the different types of beds that were fashionable in France.[158] A full description of four-poster and other beds is given by La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, and some descriptions also appear in *Dialogue ou Entretiens des Femmes Sçavantes*, by Bourdeille.[159] De l'Orme makes a passing comment on the royal bed "*...auquel on accommode quelquefois des second rideaux de toile d'or, ou d'autre matieres...*".[160] Despite their overtly sumptuous appearance, these beds were, originally at least, objects of practical use. It seems, however, that beds in main rooms of *hôtels* played several roles. There was their obvious use and their symbolic role, this thesis is concerned

mainly with the role they played in solving problems which confronted users of large "public" rooms. The large beds, with their surrounding heavy curtains, were a means of physical protection and created individual, identifiable small enclosures within the large rooms. In a smaller enclosure, they provided seclusion from view, from the cold and from the draughts prevalent in large rooms *en enfilade*. They created a private domain that was comfortable within a large, impersonal "public" space.

Various attempts appear to have been made to isolate and insulate the bed and its immediate accessories from the surrounding main room of an *hôtel*. J-F. Blondel, who believed that the purpose of a bedroom was rest, considered that the bed in a bedroom along an *enfilade* of main rooms needed to be isolated and face the windows. A more convenient location, such as the corner of a room, would be acceptable only in an *appartement privé*.[161] Discussing the location of the bed in a bedroom, Savot said that in the past the bed-head used to be place against the wall that held the fireplace and to its right, as this had been considered the healthiest position. In his time, however, beds were turned around so that the bed-head was against the wall that faced the windows. This arrangement — which persisted to the time of J-F. Blondel — left some four to six feet free on either side of the chimneypiece. This made it more comfortable to receive and entertain friends while in bed.[162] The independent four-poster bed, fully enclosed by its tester and curtains, stood in wood-panelled *chambres de parade* in J-F Blondel's time (figs. 74 a; 74b; 74d). The area of the bed and and its surrounds was sectioned off from the rest of the room by a balustrade.[163] Later somewhat lighter beds, such as the *grand lit à la duchesse* (figs. 74gi; 74gii), made their appearance. In his treatise Le Camus de Mezières mentions the *lit à la Polonaise*, which he considered to have an agreeable form (fig. 74h).[164] In this type of bed, the curtains were hung from a central dome much smaller than the bed, and they flowed out to cover it. In bedrooms which Le Camus de Mezières considered "*palais du sommeil* ", he recommended recommended, like J-F. Blondel that the bed should face the windows. He stressed, however, that the ornamentation should be suitable for bedrooms. The *boudoir*, which made its appearance after the time when J-F. Blondel was writing, was, according to Le Camus de Mezières, the home of pleasure. Besides the bed itself, Le Camus de Mezières suggested that it should contain an ottoman surrounded by mirrors, with mirrors on the ceiling as well. The type of bed which he considered suitable for the *boudoir* was a *Polonaise*, free standing on all sides.[165]

It would thus appear that attempts were made to separate the functions of the room. These functions included passage to the next room, the reception of dignitaries, the reception of friends and sleeping. In the plan of the *chambre de parade* of the Princess of Rohan, both a balustrade and two *ruelles* are indicated. This would seem to indicate quite clearly that the space enclosed by the balustrade included an area for the reception of some visitors beside the bed (fig. 75). These areas were apparently segregated because of a desire to create an independent part of the room, a "private" space. That is, part of the room was designated for the reception of visitors and the pursuit of conversation.

Le Camus de Mezières says of sleeping in *grands appartements*, that "*...dans de grandes pieces l'homme se trouve disproportionné. Les objets sont trop éloignés de lui, on s'y retranche dans une partie, le reste devient inutile et déplaît.*"[166] This multi-function room was so devised as to incorporate formal means of segregating its usages. Until the functions were segregated in separate rooms and truly separate spaces, measures were needed to inform strangers where boundaries lay. While inferiors and those on official business might not pass the balustrade, acquaintances or friends did. A form of "private" living (both in bed, and when entertaining friends), could thus be carried on in a "public" space, and on public view .

There were attempts at separating the incompatible functions of a room besides the formal, symbolic separation of areas of a sleeping room with its *Rowley* and balustrade. One of these was the *lit en alcove*, where the bed was separated not by curtains all around, but by being placed in a large recess off the room. J-F. Blondel says that it was surrounded by wood panelling which left only sufficient space for a few seats near it.[167] In his *Traité d'Architecture dans le Goût Moderne* (1737-8) (*see* Chapter III pp 160-1), he showed an *alcove* and a room with the bed *en niche*. In each instance the bed was separated off from the rest of the room (figs. 39-40b). Le Camus de Mezières indicated, however, that "*Les alcoves sont peut en usage aujourd'hui, non-seulement elles sont incommodes pour le service sur-tout lorsqu'on est malade, mais encore l'air n'y circule pas assez; ".* Also, alcoves and niches for the development of elegant, sumptuous beds. Their abolition was therefore, due to considerations of taste, luxury and health.[168] Since beds *en alcove* in some illustrations (in contrast to plans as above), could easily be mistaken for those *en niche*, it seems necessary to stress the difference between the two.

Those *en niche*, were in small recesses, which normally enclosed the bed on three sides. Beds *en alcove*, however, were in alcoves which, as described in the last chapter (*see* pp 159-63), were much larger recessed areas in a room which left enough space around the bed for seating, that is for entertaining. Thus the private activity that pertained to the bed and the visits of close friends remained close to it, but formal, official functions, and passage were distanced. The *lit en estrade*, a bed that was separated from the rest of the room by the raised platform on which it stood, was a popular in the seventeenth century, according to J-F. Blondel, but no longer in the eighteenth.

As specific areas, *ruelles*, were provided for sitting near the bed, it was quite unacceptable to sit on anyone else's bed. De Courtin instructed children that it was indecent to do so, particularly if the bed was a lady's. If one was invited by a person of higher status to sit on his bed, one should refuse politely, but if the request was repeated, one should accept rather than contradict. In which case one should sit at the foot of the bed, which according to de Courtin, was always the end nearer the door. The head end was reserved for those of higher status.[169] Also, while one should not ordinarily receive visitors, especially those of higher status, unless one was fully dressed, if visitors arrived unexpectedly, one should ask them in without much ceremony, and not make them wait while one dressed.[170]

Between the start of the period, with Savot's treatise (1624), and the 1780 treatise by Le Camus de Mezières, a distinct move towards greater comfort in living and sleeping quarters had been undertaken, even in such revered buildings as Marly. This royal residence, designed by Hardouin-Mansart for Louis XIV, later underwent alterations when *entresols* were added in order to introduce greater *commodité.* The French, according to J-F. Blondel, had learnt to idolize *commodité*, whereas their predecessors had neglected it. This negligence, he believed, should be blamed on architects more than on the proprietors.[171]

The curtained seat — as well as curtained beds — shielded its occupant from the cold in large, draughty rooms. This piece of furniture was devised to protect Mme de Maintenon from draughts in main rooms, albeit in Royal houses. Dr Cabanès (1910) termed it "*Niche portative*". The *marquis de Sources* gave a detailed description of it. According to him, it took the form of a large "Confessional" seat furnished with cloth on three sides to prevent draughts (fig. 76a).

Mme de Maintenon was said to have had such seats in all her *appartements.* The Queen and the Dauphine made use of these chairs when pregnant.[172] P. Verlet describes these chairs as having "a high embracing back" and he mentions that some twenty were listed in Mme de Pompadour's inventory.[173] Havard too, describes the comfortable "confessionnal" as a high-backed wooden seat, with wings and blinds on all sides, converted from a religious into a secular piece of furniture. In the seventeenth century, according to him, it was known as a "*confessionnaire*"(fig. 76b).[174]

Le Camus de Mezières details a more psychological or sensory consideration of comfort and harmony of spaces. He considered colour a contributory factor in the creation of atmosphere appropriate to the use of a room. His palette stretched its meaningful sensitivity, however, mostly in the domain of the masters. He recommends gauze curtains raised vertically in the main bedroom to avoid sharp shadows or contrasts and to control over the desired amount of daylight in the room. To achieve the uniformity and the mellow atmosphere compatible with sleep, he recommends green, the colour of foliage, for the palace or asylum of sleep.[175] When considering the *boudoir*, he reasoned about the colour for this haven of pleasure. Red was taken to be too harsh, yellow would create disagreeable reflections, green was too serious. He considered white and blue to be the only suitable colours to bring serenity to the soul and delight to the senses in the room where only gentle emotions were allowed.[176] He also considered the children's: "*...l'appartement des enfans ne peut être trop gai; les couleurs qu'on y emploie doivent être agréable, ces choses influent plus qu'on ne pense sur l'humeur habituelle...décident souvent le caractere de la jeunesse, développent ces idées riantes, et occasionnent cet enjouvement qui fait dans la suite les charmes de la société.*"[177] The bedroom and *antichambre* in the lodgings of the first and second *femme de chambre*, were to be grey.[178]

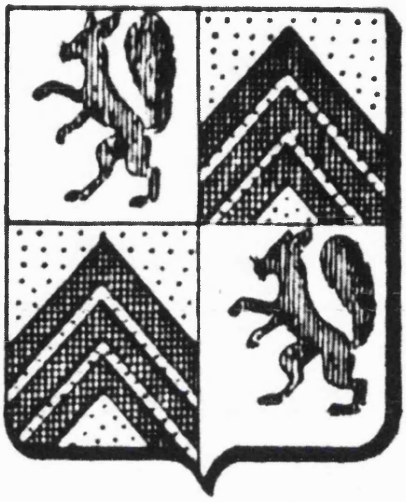
The different types of bed, and the other early devices that created symbolic, perhaps not entirely clear or definite separation of the mixed activities within rooms, eventually led to separate rooms for distinct activities (sleeping, eating, entertaining). The creation of private, individually built spaces for the convenience and privacy of their users is of particular relevance and is considered in Chapter III (*see*, pp 136-7; 140; 142). In this chapter, however, the stress is laid on what appears to have been earlier attempts at privacy, first with the aid of furniture (beds and chairs) and eventually leading to independent bedrooms and much greater convenience,

comfort and privacy. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and from examples presented, it is clear that comfort and convenience were not high on the list of priorities early in the period, since these concepts, as we know them now, were then not even in existence.

The humanist approach that nurtured the idea of the nuclear family in preference to the household group has been closely considered by Philippe Ariès.[179] This approach is seen to have led, among other things, to the formation of smaller, more private spaces congenial to the newer form of social groupings. Nonetheless, I believe that the concerns expressed by writers from different disciplines — de l'Orme; Savot; de Fremin; Gauge; J-F. Blondel; Le Camus de Mezières; and various diarists — but which impinged directly on architecture needed to be addressed. And by addressing them from professional points of view, particularly from that of architecture, the concerns of all these disciplines were incorporated in architectural solutions to the inconvenience of cold, draughty, uncomfortable large rooms in *hôtels*, leading to the advancement of comfort, and harmony in the art of living.

IIIIIII

The symmetry preferred in French Classical designs and used in their plans and elevations, a symmetry about a single axis or a symmetry based on a human being, was repeated in the construction of smaller details after the middle of the seventeenth century and particularly in the eighteenth; the symmetry was enhanced for and by the person advancing through its centre. Vitruvius and later Italian writers used the term *commodité* to refer to elementary aspects such as salubrious building sites or the orientation of buildings and the spaces within them to face the most congenial directions. Comfort or *commodité* in French Classical architecture, however, was an ingredient which was intended to improve the life of the owners and the other users but which at the same time was not allowed to disrupt the overall composition of residences. Facilities that provided *commodité*, whose importance increased and in time became essential, started with modest steps by owners and arose from the conventions of living within *hôtels.* These were gauged by a sense of Harmony which became progressively heightened both in architecture and in *etiquette.*



Belle-Isle (Duc de)

Chapter V

HOTEL DE BELLE-ISLE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with one specific *hôtel* — the Hôtel de Belle-Isle — which is included here for practical reasons. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architectural treatises and other illustrated publications that incude plans of Parisian *hôtels particuliers* fail to include plans of intermediary floors. Two examples are Mariette's *Architecture Françoise* (1727), an illustrated display publication, and J-F. Blondel's *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6), a work that combined an architectural text with large-scale illustrations. Both these works display plans, sections and elevations of major buildings, but neither includes plans of intermediary floors, that is *entresols* or *mezzanines.*

The search for manuscript drawings which incorporate the *entresols* of *hôtels* revealed through correspondence that owners of these houses, be they the State, private institutions or individuals, are not in possession of the relevant drawings (*see* p 17). The *Archives Nationales* in Paris, however, have the complete set of plans of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, including the *entresols* (no sections or elevations, however). Staff at the *Archives Nationales* believe these drawings to be the original plans of the house, however, closer reading puts this in doubt, as will be noted further on in the chapter. It was therefore more a matter of chance than of choice that this particular *hôtel* is included in this chapter, whose primary aim is to consider *entresols.* It will illustrate the technical difficulties which they present for mass reproduction. Although plans in published works aimed to illustrate the major spaces, and as spaces *en entresol* were private or for minor usages, it appears nonetheless that their exclusion from mass publication was due, at least in part, to their cumbersomeness and fragility. Without illustrations of these intermediary floors and the specific spaces within them, no complete and true picture of a house can emerge. As will be seen in this chapter, even elevations in published works did not always portray the reality of the building which they illustrated.

The Hôtel de Belle-Isle was commissioned by Charles-Louis-August Foucquet (1684-1761), *dit Marechal duc de Belle-Isle* from Bruant, King's Architect, (it seems François the son of Liberal Bruant). The *hôtel*, constructed in 1721, was situated in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and faced

two streets: the rue de Bourbon (now rue de Lille) and the quai d'Orsay (now quai Anatole France; it was almost adjacent to what is now the Musée d'Orsay). Its main entrance was on the rue de Bourbon and the principal building had three floors facing towards this street. On the quai d'Orsay front the building was raised on a terrace whence there was a good view.[1] The building was subsequently owned by Choiseul-Praslin, Domidoff, d'Harville, Lépine and the *Caisse des dépôts et consignations*, it was burnt down during the 1871 uprising of the Commune.[2]

The academic commentary on this *hôtel*, which deals with its appearance, is based on J-F. Blondel's views in conjunction with the published illustrations. This is supplemented by my own commentary based on the manuscript plans. Before describing the building, however, it seems apposite to provide some details of the background of the owner.

IIIIIII

THE BELLE-ISLES

The title Belle-Isle was held by the Foucquet family. The spelling "Foucquet" prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, later it was more frequently spelt Fouquet. The Foucquets originated in Brittany and belonged to the *noblesse de robe*. They held the posts of *conseilleur* and *président au Parlement de Bretagne* until François Foucquet (1587-1640) established himself in Paris and became *commissaire de Belle-Isle* and *conseilleur d'Etat ordinaire* under Louis XIII and Cardinal de Richelieu. He also held the titles of *vicomte de Vaux* and *maître des requêtes.*[3] In 1610 he married Marie de Maupeou (?-1681), the daughter of Gilles de Maupeou d'Ableiges, *maître de requêtes & intendant des finances.* When François Foucquet was himself offered the position of *surintendant des finances* he refused the post. He fathered eleven children — five daughters, all of whom took to the cloth, and six sons, some of whom did as well.[4] His fourth son, Nicolas Foucquet (1615-1680), was the cause of the family's fame and notoriety.

Nicolas Foucquet became *vicomte de Melun & de Vaux, marquis de Belle-Isle, maître des requêtes* under Louis XIII, *procureur-général au Parlement de Paris* and early in Louis XIV's

reign, *sur-Intendant des Finances & Ministre d'Etat.*[5] In 1661 he was arrested for suspected treason and for embezzling from the State (At the time his verdict was passed, Nicolas Foucquet's creditors were owed 1,950,000 *Livres*). A clearly visible part of his expenses was lavished on the construction and fitting of Vaux-le-Vicomte. He was held at the Bastille for three years, after which he was transferred to the Château de Pignerol where he lived out the rest of his life.[6] He was twice married. From his first marriage to Louise Fouché, *dame de Quéchillac* (a minor, the sole daughter and heiress of the rich Seignieur de Quéhillac, a Breton), he had a single daughter. In 1657 she married Armand de Béthune, *marquis de Charost, gouverneur de Calais*, and became the *marquise de Charost* (Banished to Ancenis after the Foucquet affair). From his second marriage to Marie-Madeleine de Castille Ville-Marteuil (1633-1716) he had a daughter, Marie-Madeleine Foucquet, who in 1683 married Emmanuel de Crussol de Balaguier *marquis de Montsalès, chevalier, seigneur de Montsalès, Aubayrat etc.* (he was a first cousin of Emmanuel II *comte de Crussol, duc d'Uzès*, who had married Julie de Sainte-Maure, the grand-daughter of the *marquise de Rambouillet. see* Chapter III p 119) and became the *marquise de Montsalès.* No family mambers on either side attended this wedding.[7] The youngest of his five children, Louis Fouquet (1661-1738), succeeded to the title of *marquis de Belle-Isle.*

The *marquis de Belle-Isle* appears to have suffered greatly from the shame of the family misfortune, in a way which seems not to have afflicted other members of the family. Louis's schooling was with the Order of Malta. In 1681 he was granted leave of absence for three years to return to France. During this leave he met and secretely married Cathèrine-Agnès de Lévis (*c.*1660-1729) the daughter of Roger de Lévis, *Chevalier de Poigny, comte de Charlus, conseilleur du Roi en ses conseils, lieutenant général des armées de Sa Majesté & gouverneur de Bourbonnais.* The Lévis family objected to the union and had no further contact with the young couple. Louis's mother followed suit and had no dealing with them either. The young couple, who were pennyless, were offered a haven by Nicolas Foucquet's brother, Louis Foucquet (?-1703) the Bishop of Agde. They lived with him for the rest of his life, in various places of exile. He had the King's permission to return to the Palais d'Agde some ten years before his death. After the Bishop of Agde's death the *marquis de Belle-Isle*'s mother made peace with her youngest son and his family, and the couple moved in with her in Paris.[8]

As the marriage was secret at first, Catherine-Agnès's brother, unaware of the fact, deposited a

claim against the "*Chevalier Foucquet*" (a title he had not attained when he left the Order of Malta) for subverting his sister for which he went to jail, but the matter was not pursued by the family. The Bishop of Agde was concerned about the legal validity of the secret marriage contracted without parental consent. He therefore remarried the couple in 1686, and of this union fourteen children were born, of whom only six survived early death.[9]

Charles-Louis-Auguste Foucquet (1684-1761) *comte de Belle-Isle*, the eldest son to survive, had as his godparents the few on either side of the family who had any contact with the Belle-Isles. His godmother was the *duchesse du Lude* (Louise-Marguerite de Béthune-Sully, his maternal great aunt) and his godfather was Louis Foucquet, Bishop of Agde (his paternal great uncle). After the latter's death, Nicolas Foucquet's wife, together with her son and daughter-in-law, worked hard to promote the prospects of their heir, Charles-Louis-Auguste Foucquet and the continuity of the Foucquet line. C-L-A.'s father seems to have lived out his life in virtual obscurity, since well before his death in 1738, C-L-A. Foucquet was addressed as *marquis de Belle-Isle.*[10] C-L-A. Foucquet's only brother to survive childhood, and with whom he had very close relationship till this brother's death, was Louis-Charles-Armand Foucquet, *Chevalier de Belle-Isle* (1693-1747)

Charles-Louis-Auguste Foucquet joined the King's musketeers in 1701, and held various Offices throughout his life: in 1705, *Mestre-de-Camp général des Dragons*, and from November 1708, *Brigadier;* from 1731, *colonel général des Dragons; Mestre-de-Champ général de l'Armées de Sa Majesté;* in 1733, *Governeur de Metz & pays Messin;* in1735 he was received *Chevalier des Ordres du Roi;* in 1738, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the title of *comte de Belle-Isle;* in 1741, he was created *Maréchal de France;* in 1742 he received the hereditary status of *duc de Gisors* and in the same year *Prince de l'Empire & Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or;* in 1749 he was elected one of the forty members of the *Académie Françoise;* he was made *Ministre d'Etat* in 1756; and in 1758 *Sécretaire d'Etat du Département de la Guerre.* He died in 1761, aged seventy eight.[11] In 1724, long before attaining his various Offices, C-L-A Foucquet was implicated (together with his brother) in the alleged embezzlement by La Jonchère, treasurer of the *ministre de la guerre*, Le Blanc. Belle-Isle was arrested and held at the Bastille from March 1724 till May 1725. He was condemned jointly with Le Blanc; Belle-Isle was ordered to repay the King 600,000 *Livres.*[12] He was subsequently banished to Nevers, but

as seen above, this matter did not affect his later career.

The *maréchal de Belle-Isle* was married twice, first in 1711 and the second time in 1729. His second wife was Marie-Thérèse-Casimire-Geneviève-Emmanuelle de Béthune-Selles (?-1755), widow of the *marquis de Médavy-Grancey.* With her he had his only child to survive infancy, Louis-Marie Foucquet (1732-1758), *comte de Gisors*, who was killed in battle. In 1753 the *comte de Gisors* married Hélène-Julie-Rosalie Manzini-Mazarini, grand-daughter of the *duc de Nevers*, the heir of Mazarin.

C-L-A. Fouquet outlived his fourteen siblings,[13] and was the last male survivor of his branch of the Foucquet family. Charles-Jean-François Hénault, Président au Parlement, who knew the *maréchal de Belle-Isle* personally, recorded in his *Mémoires:* "*M. de Belle-Isle n'a point voulu laisser de mémoires, & je lui vu brûler infiniment d'écrits qui ne peuvent être trop regrettés*".[14] Hénault's view of Belle-Isle can be summed up from his comments: "*M. de Belle-Isle, hors des routes ordinaires, s'étoit fait une réputation qui, comme elle n'a point de modèle, n'aura guères d'imitateurs, Général et ministre tout à la fois, concillant les intérêts les plus grands, et devenu le lien entre des princes qu'il avoit su gagner successivement...*",[15] and "*...si le maréchal de Belle-Isle n'a pas été un grand homme, ce sera à coup-sûr un homme extraordinaire, mais bientôt oublié.*"[16] Among the other achievements of the *maréchal de Belle-Isle* was the introduction in France of the *Ordre de Mérit* to make it possible for deserving citizens who were not Catholics, to be honoured by the State. It was a blue cordon with a medal, similar to the *Ordre de Saint Esprit.*[17]

To pay Nicolas Foucquet's creditors whom he owed 1,950,000 *Livres*, his wife, Marie-Madeleine de Castille Ville-Marteuil had to sell land. She still retained, however, the lands of Melun, Maincy, Bouy, Les Hautes-Loges, Belle-Isle, L'Argouet, Prévezac, Cautisac, La Guerche, Keraoul and Les Moulins-Neuf,[18] Vaux was returned to and her son only in 1672. Marie de Maupeou (Nicolas Foucquet's mother) disposed of her assets in her lifetime to her children and grand children, to avoid family disputes after her death.[19] Although they found themselves in much reduced circumstances, the Foucquets still held lands and titles. It seems that despite Louis XIV's great anger with Nicolas Foucquet, which led to the banishment of members of his family to all corners of France, the privileges of this in no way average French noble family were

nonetheless retained. Also Nicolas Foucquet's grandson C-L-A Foucquet managed, by his own talents and with considerable help through extended family connections, to influence Mme de Maintenon and subsequently the King himself.

THE HOTEL DE BELLE-ISLE

According to a note in Berty's *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris*, the Hôtel de Belle-Isle was constructed on a site which, in 1703, had belonged to the widow of Gilles de Maupeou, *chevalier and sieur d'Alèges* [i.e. C-L-A. Foucquet's great-great-grandfather], and which was passed on to Monseigneur de Belle-Isle in 1716.[20]

Drawings of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle appeared both in J-F. Blondel's and in Mariette's *Architecture Françoise*. Blondel's commentary on the Hôtel de Belle-Isle contained both praise and criticism of a building which was designed for a client whose requirements were interwoven into the commentary. The engravings illustrating the Hôtel de Belle-Isle in Blondel's *Architecture Françoise* (1752-6) appear to be from the same plates as those which had appeared previously in Mariette's *Architecture Françoise* (1727, (figs. 77a-f); on these Blondel superimposed some minor aids (fig. 78) to which he refers in his explanations.

The engraving of the street elevation of the Hôtel as one would have approched it from the rue de Bourbon (fig.77c) shows a perfectly symmetrical façade with the main gate at its centre. The elevation as shown and discussed by Blondel consisted of three parts. The middle section, with the gateway as its centre, was five bays wide, single storeyed and had a balustraded parapet. To the right and to the left of it, two mirror-image pavilions or gatehouses faced the street: each was four bays wide and had three storeys; the top storey was in the mansard roof and had dormer windows. All window-openings in this façade including the dormers, as well as the gateway, were crowned by similar segmental arches; with the exception of those over the dormer windows, these were ornamented as were their jambs and keystones. The pavilion or gatehouse on the right-hand side contained the kitchen and accommodation for kitchen staff, the one on the left-hand side of the main gateway contained the stables, and the upper floors served as accommodation for the *officiers.*

Blondel believed that this elevation would have been improved if the gateway had had a

semicircular arch rather than the segmental arch as this would have broken the uniformity (monotony?) of the elevation. He also had reservations about the proportions of this gateway, whose height was twice its width. He believed the gateway to be too low in relation to the slender, ornamented pilasters on either side of it. He commended the detailed mouldings (*profils*) on this façade, however, as well as all those in the building (he rated Bruant one of the most able architects in the field of moulding, in his own time[21]) and added: "*On ne doit pas négliger l'étude de ces parties de l'architecture* [*profils*], *qui dans toutes les occasions manifestent la capacité d'un Architecte; & comme on n'a pas toûjours lieu d'employer les Ordres...ce n'est souvent que par l'art de profiler qu'on peut donner des marques de son expérience, & se distinguer dans sa profession.*"[22] On the whole Blondel believed that the exterior decoration of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle had been kept quite modest for an *hôtel* of its size, but that the interior of its *appartements* was of considerable magnificence.[23] The modest external appearance of this *hôtel* was marked by the absence of any Orders from all its elevations. Piers and consoles were used Instead.

From the plans of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle which Blondel published (similar to Mariette's, figs. 77a-b; 78) and the configuration of the site it is apparent that the street elevation was in fact slightly different from that shown in the engraved elevation just considered (fig. 77c), and that in reality this elevation was not symmetrical. Beyond the symmetrical elevation illustrated, to the left of the left-hand pavilion, as seen from the street, there was a secondary gateway (leading into the stable courtyard and service area) and further to the left beyond it were stables fronting the street (*see* fig. 80a). This addition, which made the street elevation asymmetrical and which the engravings did not show, was marginally recessed from the gatehouse illustrated in the engraving, though both were of equal height.

Once through the main gate and inside the *cour d'honneur* (itself thirteen-and-a-half *toises* in width, and eighteen *toises* deep[24] —1 *toise* = 1.949 meters[25]) the viewer faced the three-storeyed principal *corps-de-logis* whose façade was surmounted by a balustraded parapet, behind which the ridge of the M-shaped roof was visible (fig. 77d). This façade was again subdivided into three. The central frontispiece — with three window-openings per floor — projected marginally forward. The two recessed parts on either side had only two window-openings per floor. The window-openings on this internal façade are similar to those on the

street façade, with segmental arches, ornamented archivolts and jambs as well as keystones, with the exception of the openings on the first floor (the *bel-étage*) of the frontispiece. Here, the three openings were for french windows outlined by semicircular archways. In front of these streched a balcony (of marginal depth) supported on stone consoles. The balcony had decorative ironwork railings. Neither this balcony nor the other balconies supported on consoles, in this *hôtel*, appear in the published engravings of the floor plans. They are shown, however, in the manuscript plans at the *Archives Nationales* (fig. 80a) The other window-openings on the same floor of this façade each have their individual window-guards of decorative ironwork (but no balconies).

As this plate shows, the viewer facing the *corps-de-logis* would also have seen the upper part of the two end walls of the short wings (off the *corps-de-logis*) which continued as single-storey wings when seen from the *cour d'honneur.* Each of these two wings, mirrored accross the *cour d'honneur*, contained one of the main staircases. These wings were of the same height as the *corps-de-logis*, whose balustraded parapet continued over them. The window-openings in the wings were similar to those throughout the Hôtel, but they were spaced more closely. Were the viewer to turn and face either of the main staircases, he would find the same window-openings again on the upper floors, two on each floor. Below them on the ground floor, the main entrances to the *corps-de-logis* and access to the *bél-étage* was through two archways, one in each wing. These were semicircular arches resting on imposts and square piers, with decorated archivolts and highly ornate keystones. These archways formed part of the arcading which described the contours of the *cour d'honneur* (with the exception of the *corps-de-logis*) including the rear elevations of the gatehouses. A balustraded parapet similar to the one over the *corps-de-logis* also surmounted the single-storey continuations of the staircase wings as well as the rear elevations of the gatehouses. Part of the arcading was inset with smaller window-openings. Here, too, the window-openings were like those elsewhere in the building, but no ornamental keystones are shown. As one faced the *corps-de-logis*, two archways facing each other across the *cour d'honneur* led to the kitchen courtyard on the right, and the stable courtyard on the left of the main courtyard.

Blondel describes the elevation of the *corps-de-logis*, seen from the entrance court, as a three-storey building of which the ground floor appeared to form a basement[26] (no basement effect is

visible, however, from the engraving of this façade). In general, he considered three-storey buildings inappropriate for private houses; if, however, one was obliged to have three floors in a building of any consequence, he thought that the lowest should be treated as a basement, giving an overall impression of a building with fewer floors.[27] In the case of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, he thought that both the unity of the ground floor arcading and the clear impression of a basement on the main façade would have enhanced the composition if the arcading were continued to completely encircle the *cour d'honner*.[28] In his view, the frontispiece (*avant-corps*) of this façade did not project far enough forward from the recessed parts, and it was too similar in width to the end elevations of the staircase wings visible from the courtyard (*see above*, p 234). The semicircular archways on the first floor which contained french windows were, in his view, too narrow, and the rectangular piers between them too wide. Also, the two receding sections on this façade (on either side of the centre), were proportionally too narrow in relation to their height.[29] As regards the balcony, he disapproved of the use of decorated consoles as supports, however ingenious; he thought that these always seem out of place, and their strength, suspect. In his view balconies ought to be supported on columns or on masonary piers, and should have stone balustrades rather than iron railings to convey a sense of solidity, irrespective of the Order used. Since the construction of columns was costly, as were their decorations (the Orders), he believed that the more natural solution was masonary piers whose cost was approximately the same as that of consoles. Because balconies were costly he thought their use should be reserved for buildings of some consequence, and that they should project at least eighteen *pouces* [1 *pouce* = 27.06995 millimetres[30]] from the building, to which, when the depth of the cornice is added, enough space is formed to allow for promenading the length of the balcony.[31]

As seen on plans and in the description of the courtyard elevation, above, the two main entrances to the principal building — a *corps-de-logis double* at the far end of the *cour d'honneur* — were situated in the wings at right angles to it (figs. 75a-b; d; f). Both led to the first floor (*bel-étage*), where the two main *appartements*, the *appartement de parade* and the *appartement de société*, were found. To increase the number of main staircases was costly in space and funds, as Blondel noted, but he thought that for this particular owner, a man of the highest status, it was important for the architect to ensure that he could pursue his affairs uninterrupted.[32] By constructing two separate main staircases it was possible to have one lead

directly to the *appartement de parade*, and the other to the *appartement de société*. Thus, those who came to the house for one purpose did not have to cross paths with those who were there for a different one. The third appartement on the same floor was the *appartement de commodité.* The access from the gatehouses for the staff, to attend on their masters in the main *appartements*, was by way of the first floor terraces which communicated between the buildings.

The ground floor of the principal *corps-de-logis* was used as storage, cellars, workshops and an *Office*. The remainder of the ground floor, further towards the quai d'Orsay, was largely a solid infilled mass which formed a base for the terrace on the first floor whence, Blondel noted, a nice view was revealed. The only area on the ground floor for the use of the owners of the house was the *appartement des bains* which faced the quai d'Orsay. It was directly accessible from the *appartement de parade* via an *escalier derobé.* This staircase also led to a *passage* terminating in a door opening on the quai d'Orsay (marked D on Blondel's ground floor plan; this is the door at the end of the space marked *34* on the manuscript drawing and the far left-hand opening on the published drawing of the façade). This made for direct access from the *appartement de parade* to the street. Blondel considered this additional access to the Hôtel crucial for the lifestyle of its owner who, in the conduct of his Office, received and dispatched secret messages. By means of these secondary stairs and the quay exit, he could pursue his communications with the outside world without being noticed by anyone who was in or around the entrance court[33] or in any other part of the Hôtel. According to the manuscript plan (fig. 80a), the messenger or *courreur* had his room (marked *166; petite chambre du Courreur*) on the first floor of the wing, next to the *escalier derobé* which led down to the quay. Further, the spaces marked *appartement souterrain pour les bains* in both published *Architecture Françoise* appear in the manuscript plans as: *35, cuisine dans le souterrain; 36, l'office; 37, lavoir.* On the other hand several toilets are marked on the manuscript plans. Some of these, *79* attached to the *secrétaire's* rooms in the *entresol*, *111 part* of the *maréchal's appartement* in the single wing on the first floor, or the *appartement de parade* according to Blondel, *116* on the first floor, attached to the *appartement de commodité* according to Blondel and *152* on the second floor are *à l'angloise*. Others are illustrated under different headings: *18, 48, 49, Lieux Communs; 125 Commoditée; 145 Lieux dans le grand escalier du second; 106 Garde robe.* There are several other *garderobes* shown on the manuscript drawings in which no toilet is indicated, but it is possible that *chaises percées* were used in them.

The façade of the Hôtel as seen from the quai d'Orsay (figs. 77e; 79) consisted of the rear view of the principal *corps-de-logis*, of the single wing to the right of it, and of a slightly recessed staircase to its left, all of which was mounted on a basement. In this elevation, in contrast to the view from the *cour d'honneur*, the *corps-de-logis* was composed of a basement, distinguished by the banded rustication of its stonework, and of two upper floors. The basement of the *corps-de-logis* was made up of eight bays, of which the three on the right-hand side each contained a plain window-opening crowned by a segmental arch, the rest were blank walls. This basement structure, stretched nine bays (the additional bay was the width of the stairs to the left of the *corps-de-logis;* the basement bays were not aligned with the bays of the *corps-de-logis*) and was surmounted by a stone balustrade that formed both the river perimeter of the terrace on the first floor and the perimeter of the property.

At the far end of the terrace rose the *corps-de-logis* which was subdivided into three: a central slightly projecting frontispiece and two recessed from it. Quoins marked the vertical boundaries between the three sections, each of which had three window-openings per floor. The window-openings in the recessed sections were similar to the other window-openings in this Hôtel. On the second floor of the frontispiece was a balcony enclosed by decorative ironwork railings and supported on consoles. The three french windows which opened onto it were similar to the other windows. On the floor below three doorways with semicircular arches and ornate imposts, archivolts and keystones opened onto the terrace. The whole frontispiece of the *corps-de-logis* was surmounted by a pediment, whereas the two sections on either side were surmounted by a stone-balustraded parapet which supported decorative vases and sculptured groups of children; the ridge of the M-shaped roof (in section) which covered the building was visible in the background.

The single wing projecting towards the river on the right-hand-side of the *corps-de-logis* as seen from quai d'Orsay, whose side elevation faced the terrace, had a single floor (the *bel-étage*) on top of the unadorned basement (i.e. the fact that its ground floor, which was continuous with the basement of the terrace, was not articulated with banded rustication led to the impression that the basements belonged to two separate buildings). The rear elevation of this wing had three openings per floor. In the basement these consisted of the doorway on the far right (marked D

by Blondel) and two window-openings, all three with segmental arches and no decoration of any kind. On the floor above it, a balcony supported on decorated consoles and enclosed by decorative ironwork railings was reached through three openings. These last were inset in arcading of three semicircular arches resting on square piers, with decorated imposts, archivolts and keystones. The slightly smaller opening for the french windows (one in each of the archways) were like the other windows of the Hôtel which were inset in arcading (i.e. the windows themselves had no keystones). The wing was surmounted by a stone-balustraded parapet with decorative vases resting on it. This parapet with its decorations, as well as the arcading inset with openings underneath it continued along the side elevation of this wing which faced the terrace (fig. 77f). Only the opening on the far right-hand side of the side elevation was a french window, giving access to the terrace. The others were window-openings. In Blondel's plan (fig. 78) this opening is shown as a window rather a doorway.

In the opinion of Blondel, the rear elevation of the *corps-de-logis*, facing the river (figs. 77e; 79), was better proportioned (height to width) than was the courtyard elevation. Although the projecting frontispiece had three window-openings per floor like the two receding sections, he believed the latter sections nonetheless seemed wider. Yet, the pediment which crowned the frontispiece accentuated this central section, as prescribed by the precepts of good architecture. The use of decorative sculpture and vases on the parapet of this façade befitted the more decorative treatment expected of garden elevations in comparison with elevations that faced courtyards.[34]

Blondel's view of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, expressed in his handbook for students at his private school of architecture, states: "*...La plûpart de nos bâtiments sur le bord de la riviere, sont aussi d'une exposition très agréable; de ce nombre sont les Hôtels de Belisle & de Lassay...*".[35] (An *exposition*, he explained in a note, was: "*...la partie la plus intéressante d'un bâtiment. C'est elle qui détermine la forme d'un plan, & qui dans sa distribution fait présénter les corps-de-logis & les aîles doubles, ou simples, ou semi-double, afin d'avoir des appartemens d'été & d'hyvers, selon que l'édifice se trouve élevé à la campagne ou dans la Capitale...*"[36]). When it came to his actual teaching, in *Architecture Françoise* and the *Cours d'Architecture*, his view of the Hôtel, as seen from the river, is marked by disapproval which focuses on the single wing that unbalanced the symmetry of the rear elevation.[37]

In the *Cours d'Architecture* his view was expressed in a general discussion on symmetry: "De la nécessité de la Symétrie dans l'Architecture": "*...combien des Bâtiments, parce qu'on y a négligé la symétrie...ne nous offrent que des productions contraires à la régularité qu'exige la bonne Architecture...; on n'a placé qu'une aîle à l'Hôtel de Belle-isle.*"[38] In the earlier *Architecture Françoise*, his advice had been that the unsatisfactory effect of asymmetrical compositions should be avoided at all cost in buildings of any significance. If a site was not wide enough for two wings to be constructed, then he considered it preferable to have none. In the case of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, he believed that this unfortunate mistake could have been avoided had it been spotted in time, since the large adjoining site (facing the rue de Bourbon, the quai d'Orsay and rue du Bac, formerly grande rue du Bacq) a site on which de Cotte built two *hôtels*, was on the market during the construction of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle. Had M. de Belle-Isle acquired it at the time, his *hôtel* could have been finished with the elegance it deserved.[39]

This fundamental flaw in the appearance of Hôtel de Belle-Isle, which Blondel put down to work starting on site before the design and its details had been finalized, led him to pronounce: "*...un grand Seigneur est heureux lorsqu'il sçait faire choix d'un Architecte aussi sage qu'éclairé, qui par la diversité de ses compositions puisse lui présenter un projet sous différentes formes, de maniere qu'après de solides réflexions & avant que de bâtir, le propiétaire & l'Architecte accord sur les loix de la convenance, de la proportion & de la simétrie, évitent les remords qui accompagnent presque toujours une entreprise peu réfléchie. Cet abus, qui n'a que trop d'examples...si l'on avoit différé la bâtisse de quelques mois, pour occuper ce loisir à faire des développemens, des details, des devis, des marchés, &c. Bien loin même que l'ouvrage eut souffert que par ce detail, presque toujours necessaire, la main d'œuvre en va plus vite, & que par ce moyen non-seulement qu'on peut ordonner ensemble les différens genres de construction, mais encore éviter de démolir pour réctifier...croyons-nous ne pouvoir trop insister sur cet article, comme le point le plus essentiel de l'art de bâtir, puisque ce défaut de prévoyance est la source de presque toutes les irrégularités qu'on remarque dans la plupart de nos édifices.*"[40] Blondel's objections to construction works undertaken before their design had been resolved, was and largely still is a recipe for architecturally unsatisfactory results. And yet, the manuscript plans of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle show that on plan, at least, extensive thought was given to the accommodation of the different spaces to suit the use of the owner.

Blondel's view that the wing was constructed as a hurried afterthought is reinforced by his

observations on its side elevation (it is impossible to determine which drawings were followed in the construction of the scheme). As the width of the openings on this façade was determined by the internal spaces into which they shed light, he believed it would have been best to leave them without the superimposed arcading. As they were executed, however, the *ordonnance* of these openings bore no similarity to the *ordonnance* of the openings in the recessed sections of the principal elevation (figs. 77e-f). Also, the proportions (height to width) of the archways in the arcading on the wing were not the same as those of the arcading in the frontispiece of the principal elevation (the archways in the former were shorter). And the roof level balustrade of the wing did not match the one on the principal building. Such flaws (relating to this wing) are too noticeable not to have been detected had any of them formed one of the parts assembled in the complete composition of a single whole.[41] (This seems to indicate that Blondel's view of the compatibility of the whole and its parts related purely to sections that are visible at one and the same time). The wall which faced the side elevation (shown as a plain wall marked H on Blondel's plan (fig. 78)) was according to him covered with a trellis.[42] On the manuscript plans, however, the face of this wall was decorated with an arcading that mirrored the arcading on the side elevation of the wing facing it. Thus, leaving out the back stairs on the left-hand side of this building, viewed from the river, the Hôtel gave an impression of a nearly symmetrical elevation and returning walls.

Considering the sectional elevation (fig. 77f), which shows the side elevation of the courtyard, the side elevation of the wing at the rear and a section through the *corps-de-logis*, Blondel again comments on the magnificence of the internal decoration of this Hôtel, the details of whose joinery he proposed to include in Volume VII of his *Architecture Françoise.* He intended in particular to illustrate the assemblages of the panelled doors which separated the *Salle à manger* facing the courtyard from the *Salon* facing the rear. These panelled door-leaves were fitted with mirrors facing the river and reflecting the views of the other opposite bank which were visible through the windows.[43]

In his text Blondel indicated the location of the main *appartements* on the first floor: the *appartement de commodité* faced the *cour d'honneur*, the *appartement de société* backed on to it and faced the river, and the *appartement de parade* was in the single wing that stretched at right angles towards the river and unsettled the symmetry of the quay elevation.[44]

Blondel showed three *enfilades* on the first floor plan, marked with dotted lines. The first, annotated D-D, was the *enfilade* through the centre of the doorways of the *appartement de parade*. It followed from the *Premiere Antichambre* (marked *101; Premiere antichambre de M.r le Mãal*) near the staircase, out to the balcony beyond the *Grand Cabinet* (or *110; Grand salon sur la riviere*) (The names and numbers of rooms given in parentheses are those marked in the manuscript plans of the *Archives Nationales.*]. The centre of the last doorway, between the *Grand Cabinet* and the balcony, was offset to the left from the alignment followed by the other doorways of this *enfilade.*

The line annotated E-E (parallel with the river), marked the *enfilade* through the centre of the openings in the *appartement de société.* The window in the *seconde antichambre* (*102; Seconde antichambre*) which terminated this *enfilade* and overlooked a side courtyard was again offset to the left of the general alignment. All those window-openings in the engraved plans and elevations shown without the windows themselves are assumed to be two-leaved casement windows or french windows. Also, the doorways at major junctures throughout the Hôtel are assumed to be two-leaved doors.

The last alignment which Blondel indicates with the line F-F (at right angles to the river), followed the *enfilade* through the depth of the *corps-de-logis.* It aligned the centre of the middle window-opening of the *salle à manger* (*113*),which faced the courtyard with the centre of the middle doorway to the terrace in the *salon* (*121; Salle de Compagnies*); this *enfilade* traversed the two-leaved door fitted with mirrors mentioned above. Of the three *enfilades*, only the last had its axis aligned through the centres of all openings. On the misalignment in the other two, Blondel comments: "*...n'enfilant point le milieu des croisées qui sont à leur extrémité, défault considérable dans la distribution intérieure d'un bâtiment, & qui prouve que ce n'est pas guére que depuis trentes ans qu'on est parvenu à connoître la necessité qu'il y avoit de concilier la décoration interieure avec l'extérieure.*", also: "*On peut même remarquer que dans cette distribution la simétrie des pieces a été négligée au point que dans le grand cabinet BB* [or *110; Grand salon sur la riviere* (at the far end of the *enfilade*, D-D)], *la cheminée n'est pas vis-à-vis le trumeau de glace qui lui est opposé.*"[45] He goes on to explain how this last defect could be corrected, and that this correction would reduce the size of the room.

Blondel's commentary on the Hôtel de Belle-Isle implies a three-storeyed *corps-de-logis*, as shown in the published section and elevations. Nonetheless, the plans which both he and Mariette published are those of the ground and first floors, only. This ignored the plan of the clearly visible second floor as well as excluding any intermediary floors which were not articulated on the façades, and of which Blondel made no mention. The undated set of floor plans of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle in the *Archives Nationales* includes several plans of intermediary floors. The actual date of the manuscript plans (figs. 80a-b) is not clear. Staff at the *Archives Nationales* who believe these to be the original drawings of the building, date them around 1721; the following indications, however, seem to date them between 1753 and 1758. The *legende* appended to the cellar plan is headed *Development de l'hôtel de Mgr le marechal duc de Belle-Isle* (partially torn). Since C-L-A Fouquet became *maréchal de France* in 1741 and received the title *duc* in 1742 (*see* p 231) these particular plans could not have been drawn before that year. In addition, the *legende* indicates accommodation for *Mr. le comte de Gisors*, and for the *premiere femme de Chambre de Madame la Comtesse de Gisors*. As the *comte de Gisors* was married in 1753 and died in 1758 it seems reasonable to assume that the plans with this particular *legende* date between 1753 and 1758. One could add also that since the various auxiliary stair in this *hôtel* appear as early as Mariette's 1727 edition, it seems safe to assume further that the various *entresols* which appear in the manuscript drawings existed from the days of its initial construction (figs. 80a-b). Nonetheless, as noted in Chapter I (*see* p 16), ascertaining the executed design of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Parisian *hôtels*, is always speculative.

The manuscript plans are held together on the left-hand side, in the form of an immense brochure, with the lowest plan incorporating the *legende* on the right-hand side of the sheet. Fig. 80b shows this *legende* separated from the plan. Partial *entresols* plans, some of which are of small areas, as in the gatehouses, were stuck down to main plans (*retombes*). The technical difficulty of reproducing and preserving the small, fragile turned-over flaps (*retombes*) of auxiliary spaces which are fragile would by their nature be of lesser interest in display works and would also give an untidy appearance. The combination of all these seems to have led to the fact that such areas were not normally published. In his *Architecture Françoise*, for example, Mariette shows the first floor of the house of Crozat le Jeune, which is clearly a turned-over flap that had been detached and engraved on the same sheet as the ground floor plan.[46] The only

publication which seems to include *retombes* is *Les Hotels de Clisson, de Guise et de Rohan-Soubise au Marais* (1922) by Charles-Victor, Langlois, a past curator of the *Archives Nationales.* He mainly discusses the decoration of the buildings taken over by the *Archives Nationales* and the plans at the back of book are not discussed in the context mentioned here.

The *entresols* which form part of the manuscript plans were not identifiable on the façades where their windows were not separated from the windows of the main floors but followed the French distribution of window openings on a façade (both horizontally and vertically *see* Chapter IV **windows** pp 202-6) in a similar fashion seen previously in the case of the Hôtel de Rohan (*see* p 141 and fig. 29d). The *entresol* situated between the ground floor or basement and the first floor of the principal *corps-de-logis*, as seen from the courtyard, accommodated amongst others the *appartement* of the *comte* and the *comtesse de Gisors* (they seem not to have had separate *appartements*) in the spaces marked *66-74* which included two rooms for their personal *domestiques.* On the same floor was also the *appartement* of the *secrétaire* (four spaces: *75-78*). These two *appartements* illustrate that *entresols* were not reserved for the use of minor dependents of households (*see also* Chapter III ***Entresol*** pp 136-8; 140-3).

The dependents who made up the Belle-Isle household at rue de Bourbon, seen from the manuscript legend. included apart from the *Gisors: Suisse, chef de cuisine, maître d'Hôtel, patissier, rotisseur, garçons de cuisine, aide de cuisine, chef d'office, apprentis d'office, femme de chambre de Madame la comtesse de Gisors, valet de chambre de M. le comte de Gisors, sectrétaire, domestiques, aide d'office, frotteurs, aumonier* (with four separate spaces) *intendant* (with four separate spaces), *laquais* (several), *sous secrétaires*, *valets de chambre, femme de chambre, secrétaire de M. le Maréchal.*

The two stables in the left-hand gatehouse were fitted to hold thirty one horses. Above these visitors were housed (*138-140 antichambre, Chambre à coucher et garderobe pour les Étrangers*). The right-hand gatehouse contained the kitchen suite. The kitchen itself marked *10* and facing the street was surrounded by the smaller dependent spaces mentioned in treatises; separated off it were the *lavoir* (*11*), the two *garde manger* (*12; 13*) and the *salle du commun* (*14*). The *chef de cuisine* and the *maître d'hôtel* each had a room in the mezzanine above as did the *patisseur, rotisseur, garçons de cuisine* and the *aide de cuisine.* Other stores

connected with the kitchen were behind the gatehouse (*15 serre, 16 chambre ou l'on met la porcelaine, 19 serre où l'officier met les moules pour la patisserie*). The dining room on the first floor (*113*) could be reached from the kitchen via the main stairs or through the auxiliary stairs in the gatehouse and then through the terraces on the first floor. The *concierge* had his own kitchen on the second floor of the kitchen gatehouse (*170*).

IIIIIII

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the Hôtel de Belle-Isle was not chosen as such for its own sake, but as an example of a complete set of original existing plans of a Parisian *hôtel* of the period in question. The client belonged to a noble family which cannot perhaps be termed an average noble family (if ever there was ((or is)) an average family). In his case, the wrath of the King who banished Nicolas Foucquet to permanent exile affected his entire family: his siblings and children were scattered all over France. It seems that despite these measures their lands and titles were not confiscated. Some were sold off to provide income for members of a family whose financial situation had deteriorated as a consequence of the Foucquet affair. From this case it is evident that family ties (some through marriage) were of such importance in the nobility that despite several irregularities family members were helped socially, financially and politically in order to keep the name of the house within the State administration.

From Blondel's comments on the Hôtel de Belle-Isle one can see that — according to the rules of architecture — endless irregularities occurred in houses, some of them avoidable. In the case of the *enfilade*, it seems that this well-known device, reputed to have originated in Paris at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, early in the seventeenth century, was still undergoing changes and refinements in the early eighteenth. In the seventeenth century it related to doorways leading from one main space to another, in the eighteenth this alignment was continued beyond the internal spaces themselves, to include that which could only be seen through windows or reflected in mirrors, but not traversed. In the eighteenth century it was also extended to affect the external appearance of buildings. Thus, whereas d'Aviler discusses the direct influence of windows on both the interior and the exterior of buildings in relation to structural problems such as the continuity of ceiling joists (*see* Chapter IV), Blondel also considers such influences from

the aesthetic points of view. A continuity of alignment was not to be offset, nor was symmetry to be broken, where they might unsettle the viewer's line of vision.

Blondel's comment on the single wing confirmed the interdependence of the parts and the whole in a composition that followed the precepts of architecture. It reinforces the view that the whole and its parts, considered in French design, involved that which it was possible to see and experience at any one time, rather than the abstract idealized concept of the whole, parts of which were not all visible at one time (*see* Chapter I p 7; Chapter III pp 107; 126). And these parts appear to refer, according to Blondel, both to those elements which contributed to the creation of the desired symmetry about one axis, and to the details which contributed towards the harmony of the composition (though not always sustained) in the public spaces of an *hôtel particulier.*

CONCLUSION

The structure of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French society was expressed visibly: members of its nobility, whose composition changed periodically, were clearly signposted by dress, manners and the houses which they inhabited. The codes of dress and behaviour were confirmed in manuals of manners and in legislation, the Classical rules of architecture and building Acts were the guidelines that affected the construction of noble houses. Contravening legislation could be a punishable offence, contravening the accepted rules of behaviour was frowned upon and might ostracize the offender, socially, while contravening the rules of architecture was subject for debate by professionals as well as by amateurs. The landmarks of 1671 appear to have initiated changes in the teachings of both architecture and *etiquette* — which were guided by that sense of Harmony by which both architectural form and behaviour could be measured and gauged — and consequently the way in which these were practised and perceived.

Classical architecture — to which the *Académie Royale d'Architecture*, formed in 1671, gave credence through its teachings, progressively changed the appearance of Paris . The French had tried and failed to make their mark on Classical architecture in the branch of *décoration* through the invention of a French Order with which to adorn their buildings and glorify France —the use of the Orders and associated decorations in private houses, were prerogatives reserved for the nobility or those representing the State. They went on successfully to make progress in the *distribution* of houses, which enabled them to create internal and external complexities to great effect. The French, who considered *distribution* as their own branch of architecture, placed it on a par with *décoration* and with *construction* (which underwent technical developments throughout the period) in their teachings.

The *distribution* of French houses (including *hôtels particuliers*), conceived so as to affect those who experienced the buildings, illustrates the French sense of architectural space, which increased in sophistication during the period. Unlike the architects of Italian town-houses, whose compositions were governed to a greater degree by abstract geometrical planning appreciated on paper, the French were more concerned with symmetry as and when it could be experienced in reality. Consequently, individual main spaces which could be seen and

experienced at one time tended to conform to the rules of architecture (especially to that of symmetry), while the overall plan of a building which could never be perceived in its totality on the ground, was not subjected to a comprehensive symmetry. The effect, in a building project, of combining the rules of architecture with design that concentrated primarily on that which could be seen within an enclosure, produced numerous irregular infill or left over spaces, especially on irregularly shaped sites.

The increased interest in *commodité* and privacy, was an additional influence on the changes in design. Over time, the large multi-functional rooms that encompassed "public" and "private" use early in the period, gave way in part to smaller spaces with separate, more specialized uses. In the multi-functional rooms in which major members of the household slept and entertained, both they and the spaces were on constant show. In these circumstances the only privacy possible was in the seclusion behind the curtains of the curtained-bed. Progressively, however, private rooms were created, followed by entire *appartemens privés* or *de commodité* to which they could retire. Towards the end of the period, the convenience of private *cabinets* was also accorded to staff. Greater *commodité* in houses was also achieved through practical improvements to fireplaces, windows and the water supply to kitchens, bathrooms and particularly to toilet facilities.

By the eighteenth century, the *distribution* of French noble houses included three identifiable types of *appartements* for the use of their owners: *de Parade, de société* and *de commodité* or *privé.* The first was for ceremonial official gatherings. The second was for social gatherings of a less ceremonial nature, and the last was private and accessible only to close friends. The manners and behaviour of those who had dealings in *hôtels* had to be ceremonial, official, social, friendly or private depending on the occasion, the relationship between the people involved and their relative statuses as well as the space in which their interactions took place. It was, however, particularly in the first two types of *appartement* that behaviour was on view and needed to comply with the accepted rules.

The rules of behaviour in manuals of manners, which are taken to have been followed by the inhabitants of Parisian *hôtels particuliers* of the nobility, seem to have undergone a clear rationalization starting with the second edition of the *Nouveau Traité de la civilité qui se pratique*

en France parmi les honnestes gens (1672) by Antoine de Courtin. It identified the behaviour of superiors, inferiors and equals in their interaction with others of good upbringing, whether indoors or outdoors, and the conscious awareness of the inner and outer self in behaviour. Although his manual first appeared in 1671, it was in the 1672 edition that the structure emerged of what became the definitive version of this work. Its detailed introductions in manners and behaviour addressed to a child but equally applicable to adults seems to have marked the change from *courtoisie* to *civilité.* It inculcated urban behaviour as well as encompassing general culture, education Christian values, physical behaviour and dress, with the aim of achieving harmonious interactions that would not offend or shock anyone in a widely heterogeneous, formal society.

Religious teaching saw in man the temple of God, the teaching of architecture saw man's body as inspiration for the symmetry of Temples. The visual Harmony imparted by *hôtel* architecture was based on symmetry with a central element that invoked the image of man. The use of such symmetry came about gradually: at first it applied to the visible sections of façades and of whole rooms; later, smaller elements such as doors and windows were also used to enhance the sense of Harmony in compositions, and eventually symmetry flowed from the interior to the exterior in continuous compositions. The contribution of these smaller elements was visible in the rooms *en enfilade*, public rooms in the *distribution* of plans which were also used as means of circulation and were introduced to Parisian *hôtels* under the influence of the *marquise de Rambouillet.* Here, especially where the walls facing in the direction of progress of the processional route needed to be symmetrical, doors were frequently placed on either side of a chimney-piece —or other prominent element— even if one of these doors was not functional, and was there only to maintain the illusion of symmetry.

Around 1650 when two-leaved doors began to replace single-leaved doors in the *enfilades*, a heightened sense of symmetry was experienced by the person traversing these rooms, especially when passing through the centre with the two leaves held open. With one leaf open on either side of him, he became the central element of the symmetry. Other routes through *hôtels*, which led either into public or private rooms, were intercepted by more discrete doors, some of which were concealed. Thus the large doors signposted the progress in the processional route through the public areas of houses. They helped the visitor to orient himself

within spaces, especially if he did not know the premises; they indicated the position of the next room into which he might be allowed to enter. Practice and upbringing would make the visitor aware that entry into rooms, even if doors were open, was only permissible on invitation. The rooms into which the visitor was asked depended on his status, his business with the host and the social relationship they shared. Windows also became more sophisticated in detail, some turned into french windows, with their shutters folding back on themselves to enhance the sense of Harmony in designs based on symmetry.

Hôtels particuliers, whose design depended on the rules of architecture and on the requirements of *commodité* for individuals, acted as an arena for the rules of behaviour designed to maintain Harmony in the function of such houses. The aspect of *commodité* in the buildings reinforced the significance of the individual as against the household; a significance which increased with time and which was echoed in works of literature.

From the late seventeenth century onwards the French were foremost in the teaching of *civilité* and of Classical architecture, which they adapted from earlier antecedents, but which they treated slightly differently. Authors of architectural treatises declared their allegiance to Vitruvius, even if this amounted simply to paying lip service, and they also acknowledged modern sources, particularly French ones. Under this umbrella the subject of *distribution* was dealt with as a branch of architecture which was their own contribution. Some of the moral teaching of *civilité* had its roots in the Bible, and this was acknowledged by some; allegiance to more modern foreign sources was less readily conceded. However, the French contribution of a clear classification in this field around 1671 was such that subsequent French texts were to follow the methodology or formula of clarification which originated in France.

Both *civilité* and architecture had written rules which acted primarily as regulatory guidelines (against which it was possible to gauge behaviour and architectural values) and which were regularly transgressed in both fields. The bridge between these two fields, however, was the acceptance of overall guidelines to achieve Harmony in each, governed by values of appropriateness of use whose observance aimed at avoiding contrasts and conflicts in a formally structured society where rules were followed in spirit if not always to the letter.

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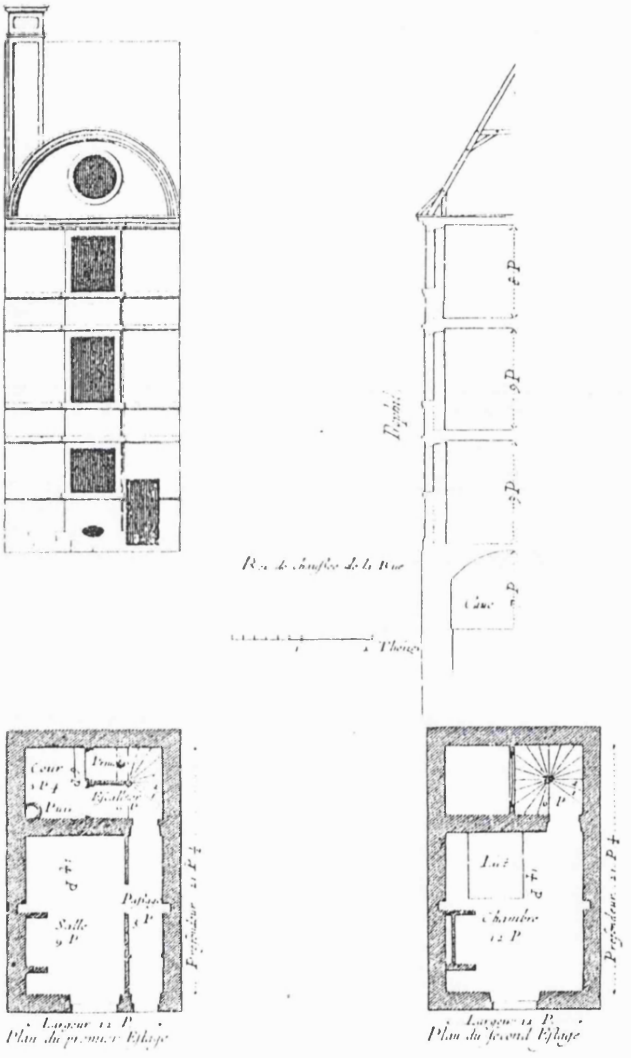
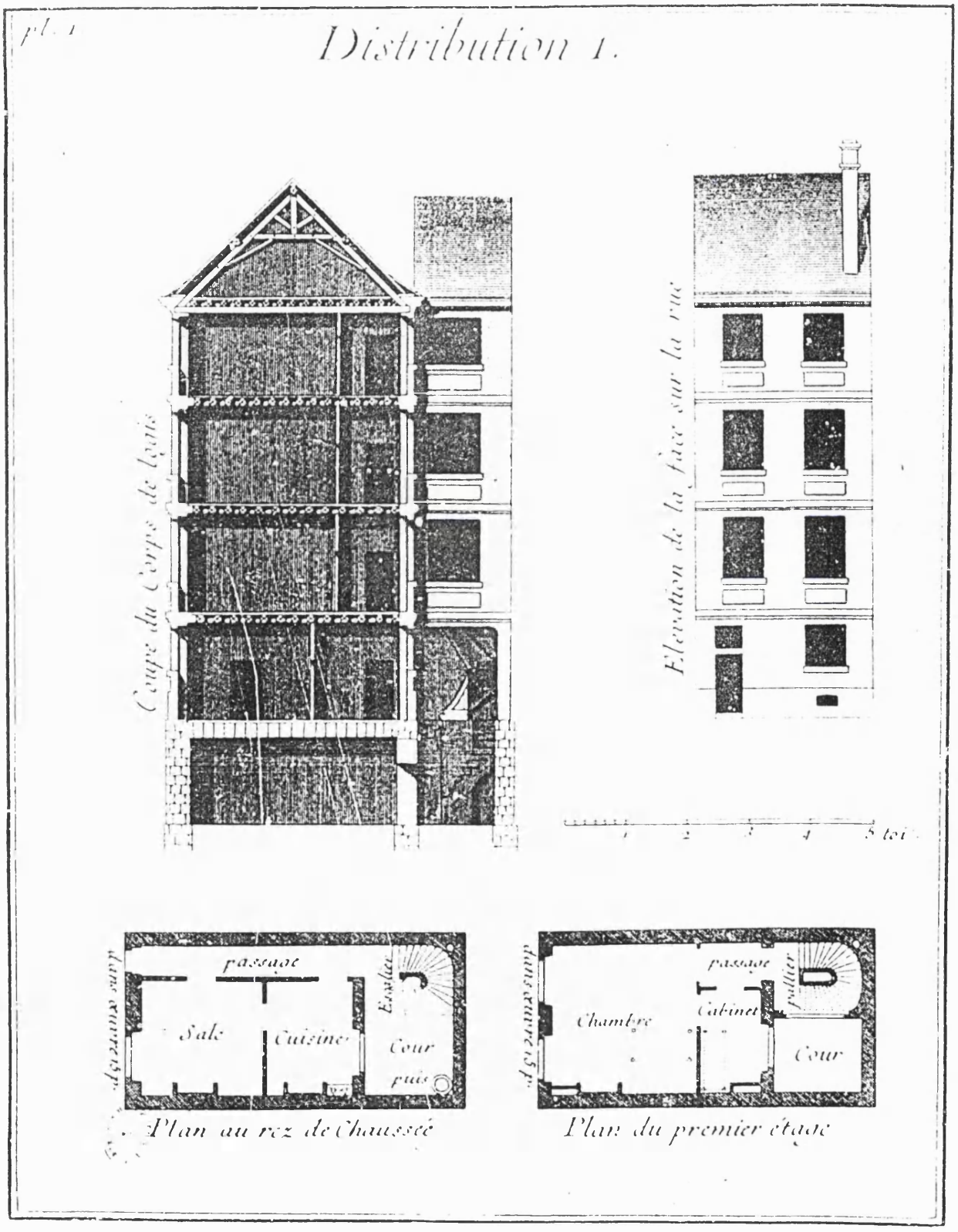
THE FIGURES



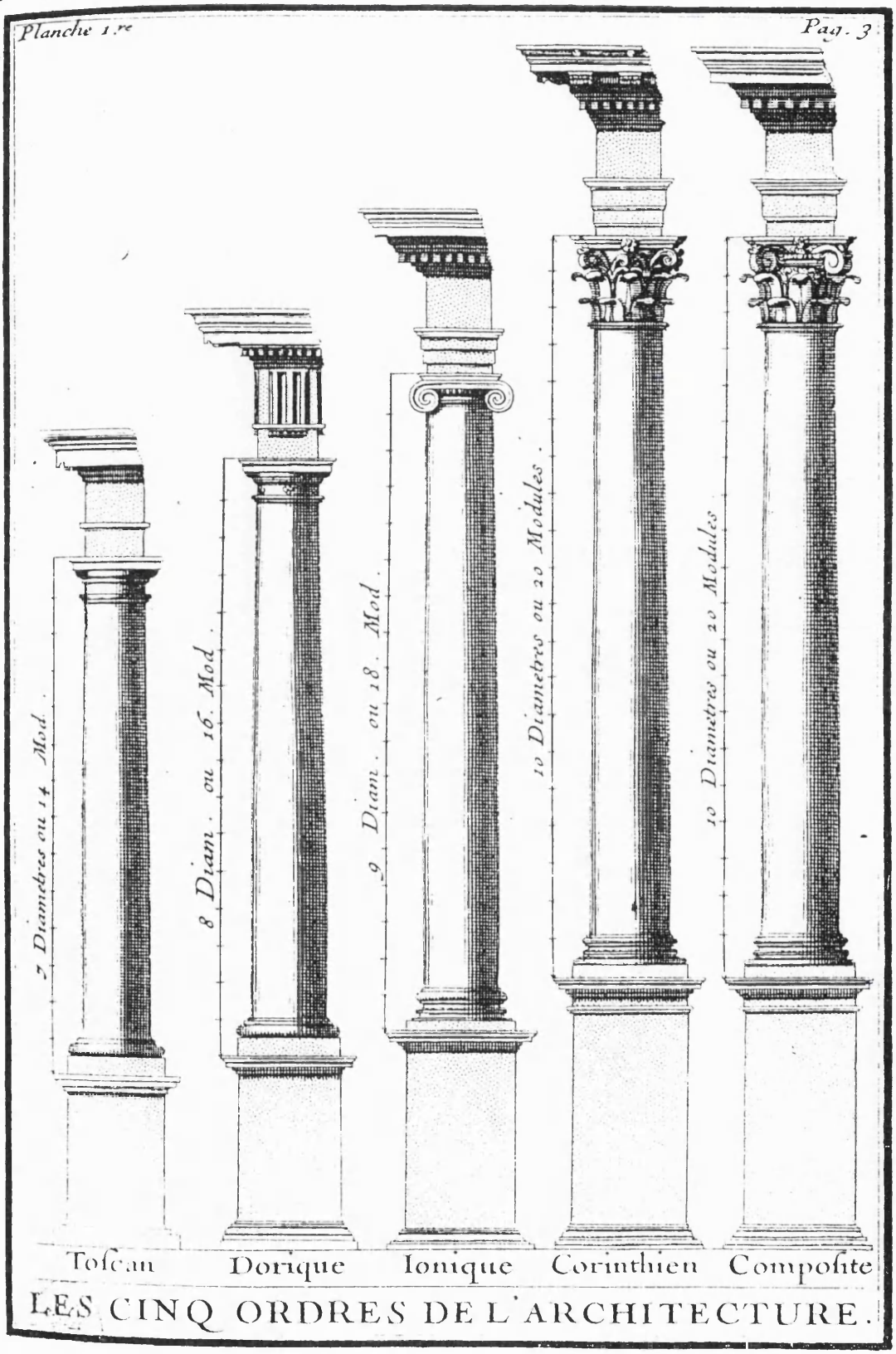
Plan du premier Etage

Plan du second Etage

1. Plot design in pattern book. Le Muet. *Maniere de bien bastir* (1623)



2. Plot design in pattern book. *Architecture Moderne* (1728).



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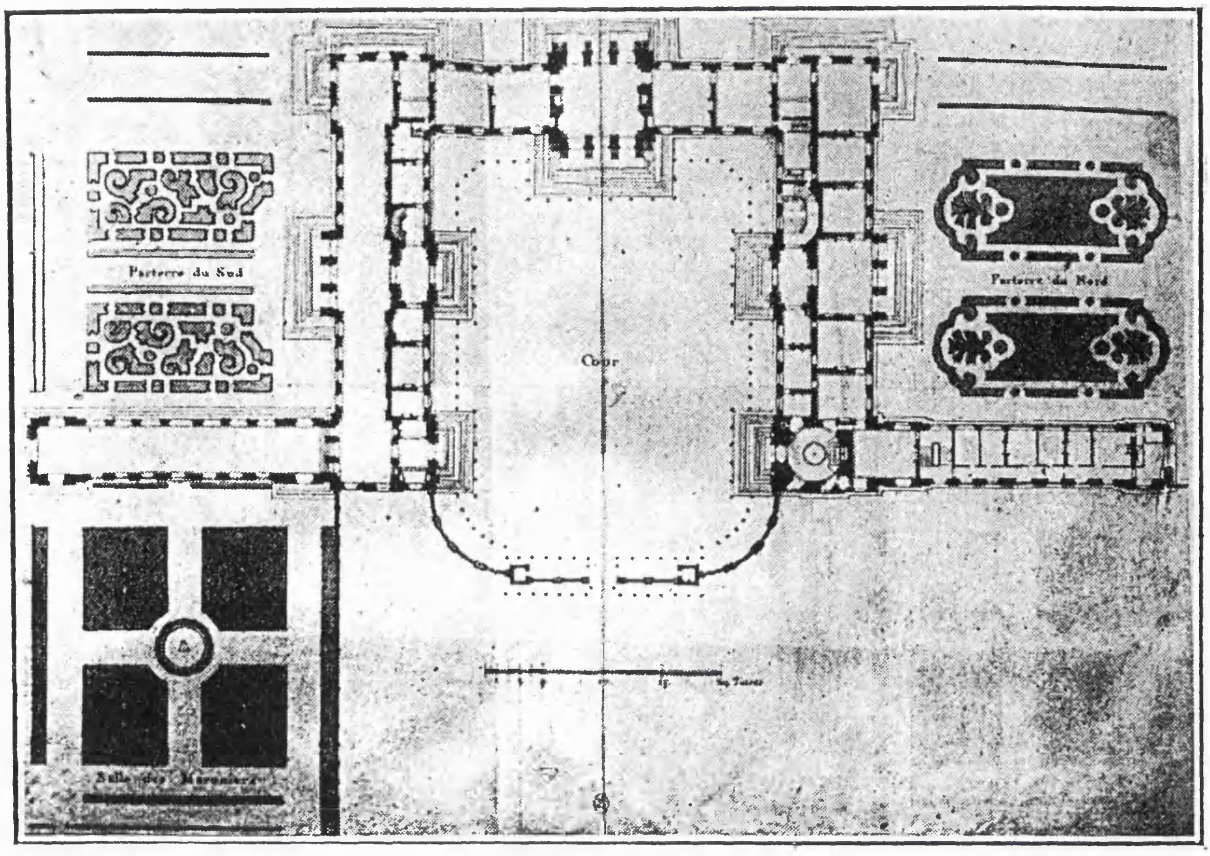
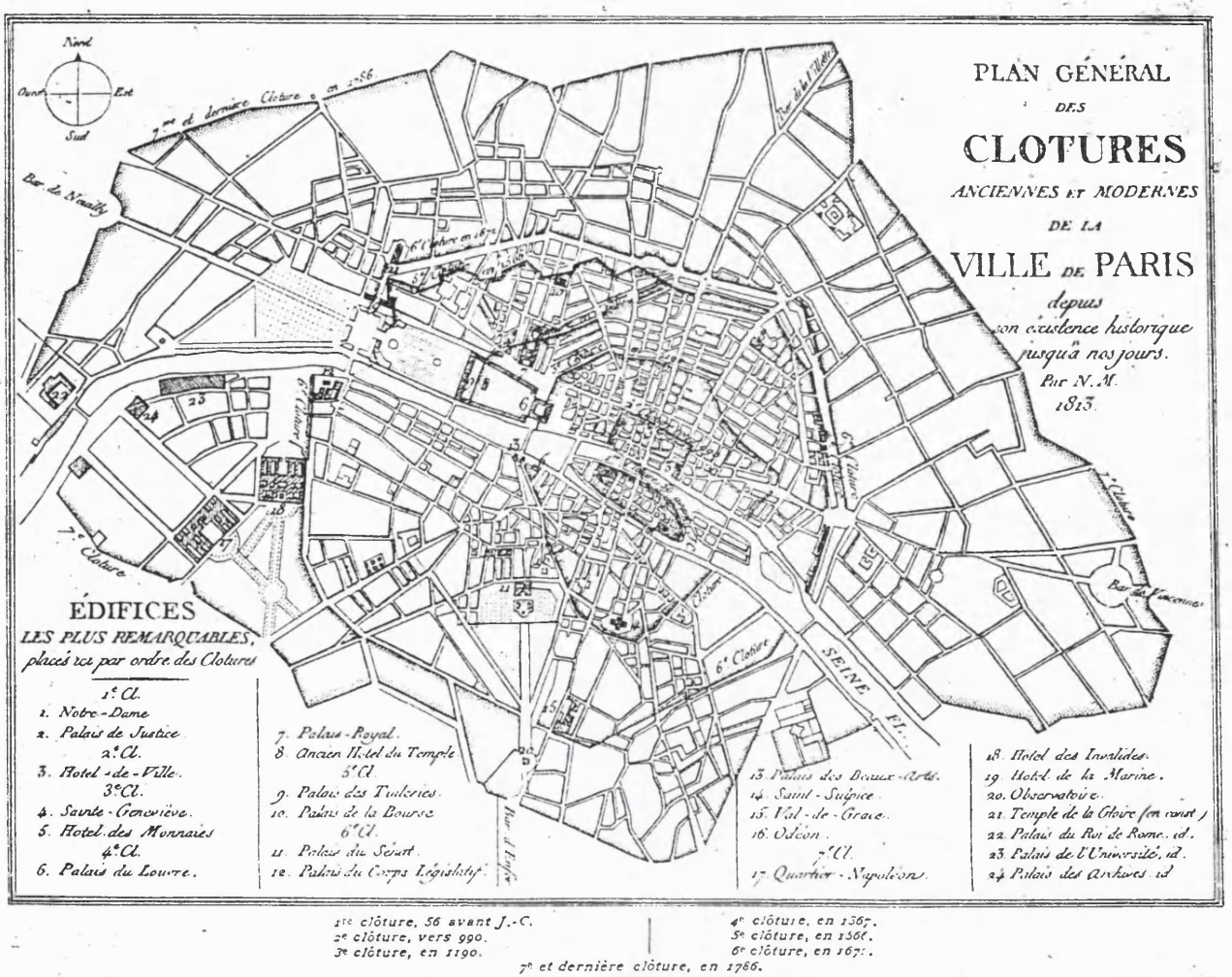
3. Proportions of the five Orders, after Vignola. In *Cours d'architecture* (1691). D 'Aviler.

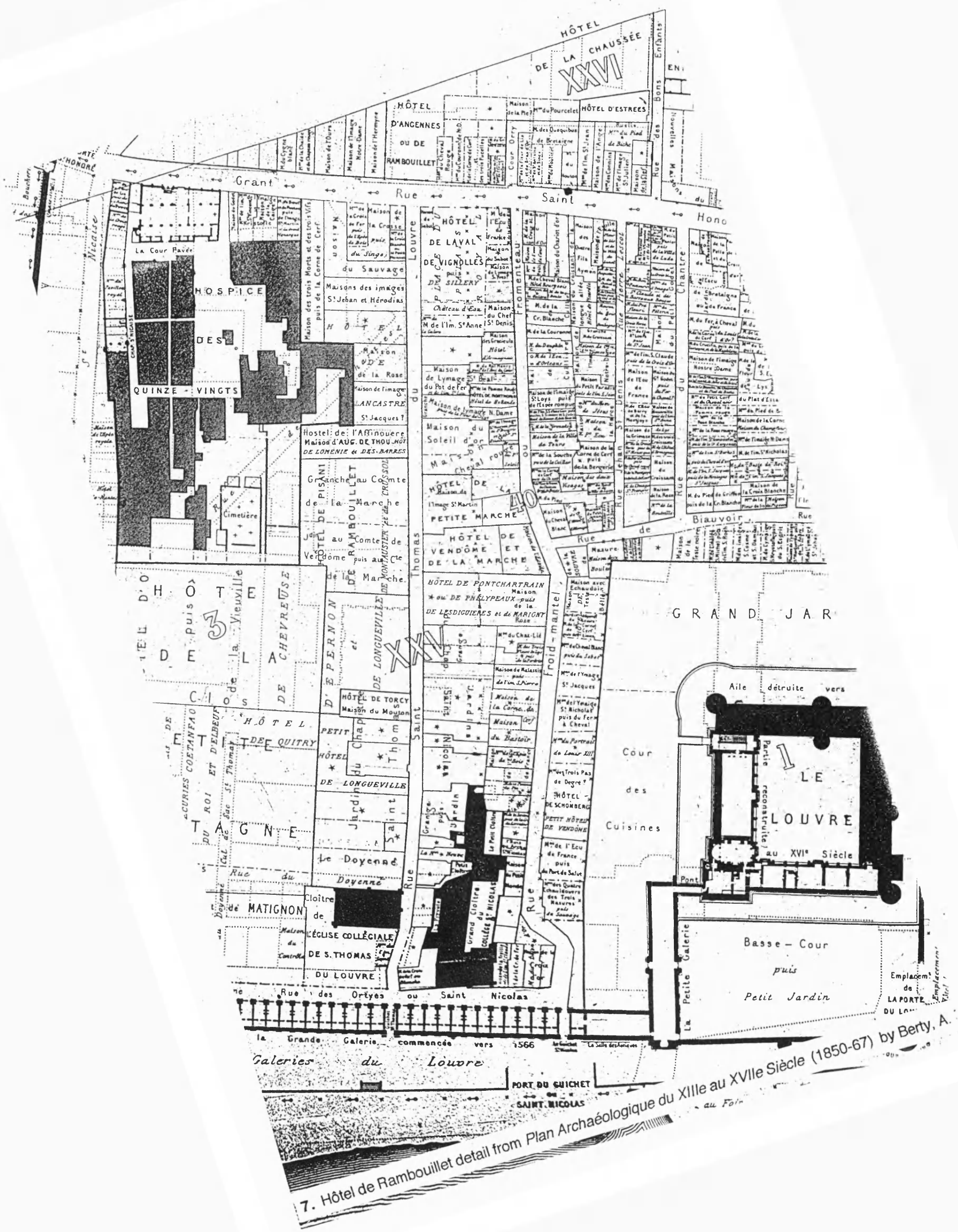


4. Château de Clagny (1676-9) by Hardouin-Mansart, J. Ground floor plan.

5. *Allégorie sur le mariage riche*, around 1610, "*Pour se marier on balance a qui aura plus dopulance*"



6. *Plan général des Clotures Anciennes & Modernes de la Villes de Paris* (1813) N. Maire.


HÔTEL DE LA CHAUSSÉE
XXVI
HÔTEL D'ANGENNES OU DE RAMBOUILLET
HÔTEL D'ESTREES
Rue Saint Honoré
Rue des Bons Enfants
Rue Froidmanteau
Rue du Chantre
Rue Jean St Denis
Rue de Biauvoir
Rue du Louvre
Rue St Thomas du Louvre
Rue des Orties ou Saint Nicolas
Rue du Doyenné
Rue de Matignon
Rue de l'Echelle
Rue de Nicaise
Rue de Rohan
Rue de Rivoli
HOSPICE DES QUINZE-VINGTS
La Cour Pavée
Cimetière
Maison des trois Morts et des trois Vifs puis de la Corne de Cerf
Maisons des images St Jehan et Hérodias
Maison de la Rose
Maison de l'image St Jacques ?
Hostel de l'Aminouere
Maison d'AUG. DE THOU HOT DE LOMENIE et DES BARRES
Grange au Comte de la Marche
Jardin au Comte de Vendôme puis au Cte de la Marche
HÔTEL DE RAMBOUILLET
HÔTEL DE MONTAUSIER et de CHEVREUSE
HÔTEL DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE puis de Vieuxville
HÔTEL DE LONGUEVILLE
HÔTEL DE TORCY
Maison du Mouton
Chapelle du Petit Thomas
Jardin Saint Nicolas
Grand Cloître du Collège St NICOLAS
Cloître de L'ÉGLISE COLLÉGIALE DE S. THOMAS DU LOUVRE
HÔTEL DE LAVAL DE VIGNOLLES puis SILLERY
Maison du Chef St Denis
Maison de Lymage du Pot de Fer
Maison du Soleil d'or
Maison de l'Image St Martin
PETITE MARCHE
HÔTEL DE VENDÔME ET DE LA MARCHE
HÔTEL DE PONTCHARTRAIN
Maison ou DE PHELYPEAUX puis de la DE LESDIGUIERES et de MARIGNY
Maison de la Croix de Fer puis du Singe
Maison du Sauvage
Maison de la Croix de Bretaigne ou de France
Maison du Fer à Cheval
Maison de l'Eau de France
Maison de la Corne de Cerf puis de la Bergerie
Maison de la Croix Blanche
Maison du Pied de Griffon puis de la Cr. Blanche
Maison de la Fleur de Lys
Maison de la Croix de Lorraine
Maison de la Fleur de Lys
Maison de la Trinité Nre Dame
Maison du Plat d'Etain
Maison du Pied de Biche
Maison du Pied de Boeuf
Maison du Chevreau qui Pisse
Maison du Chevreau qui Pisse
Maison de la Corne de Cerf
Maison de la Pomme rouge
Maison de la Pomme rouge
Maison de la Grimace
Maison de la Fleur de Lys
Maison de la Trinité Nre Dame
Maison de la Croix Blanche
Maison de la Fleur de Lys
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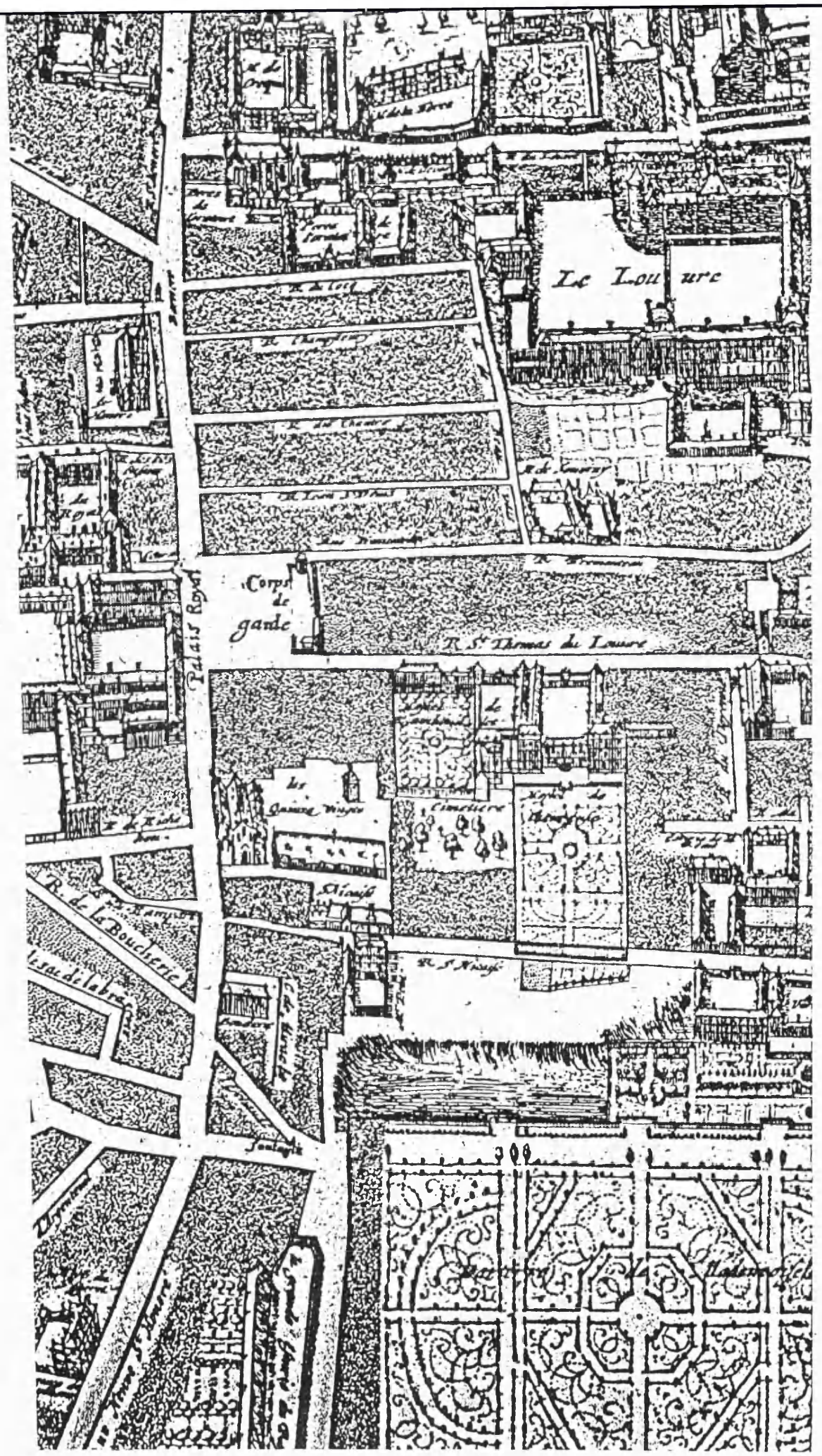
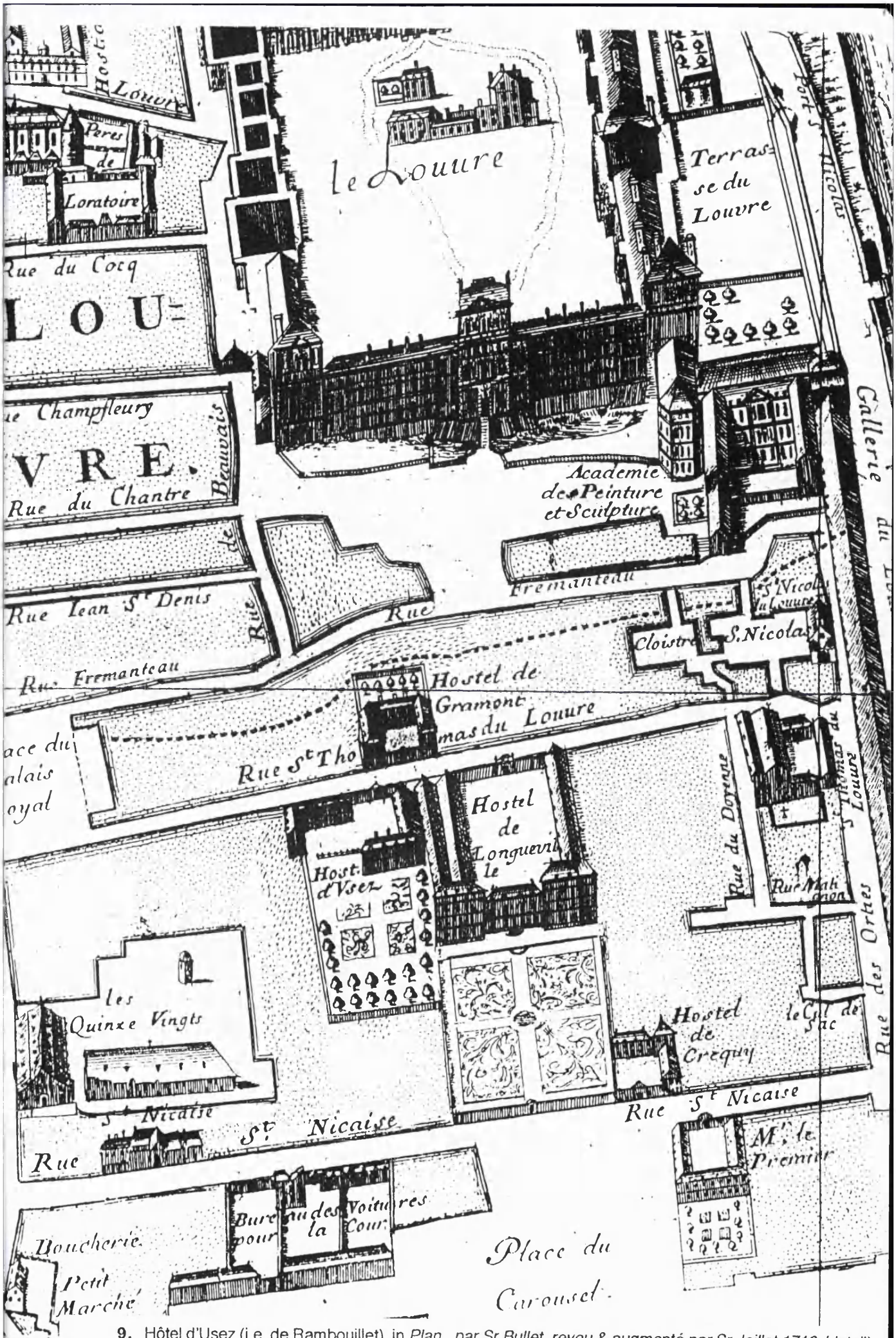
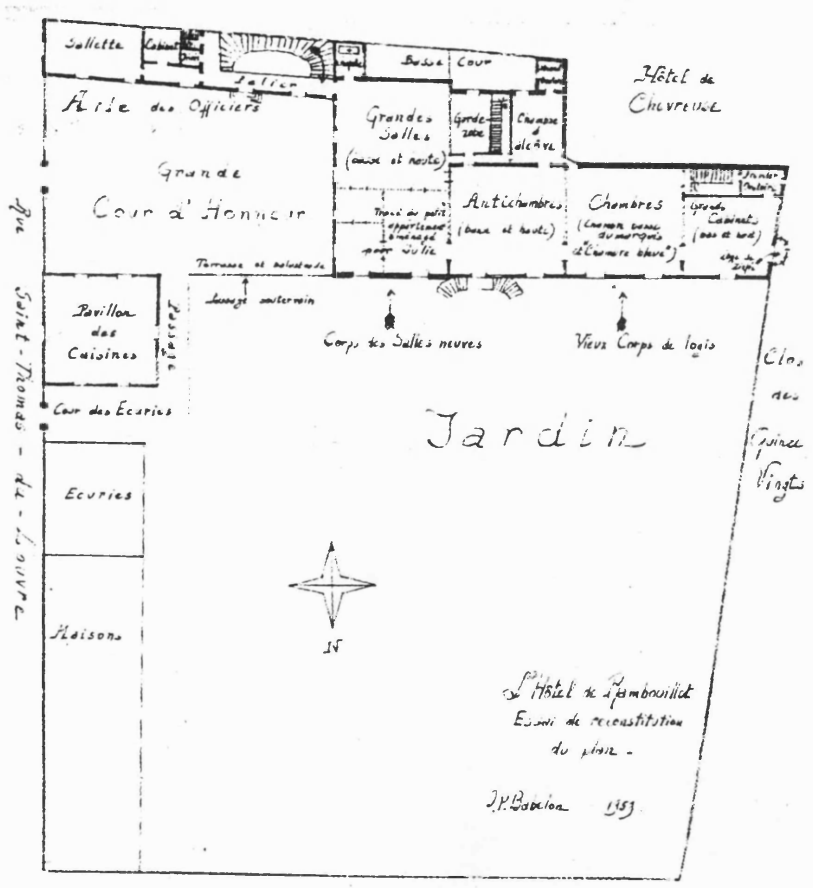
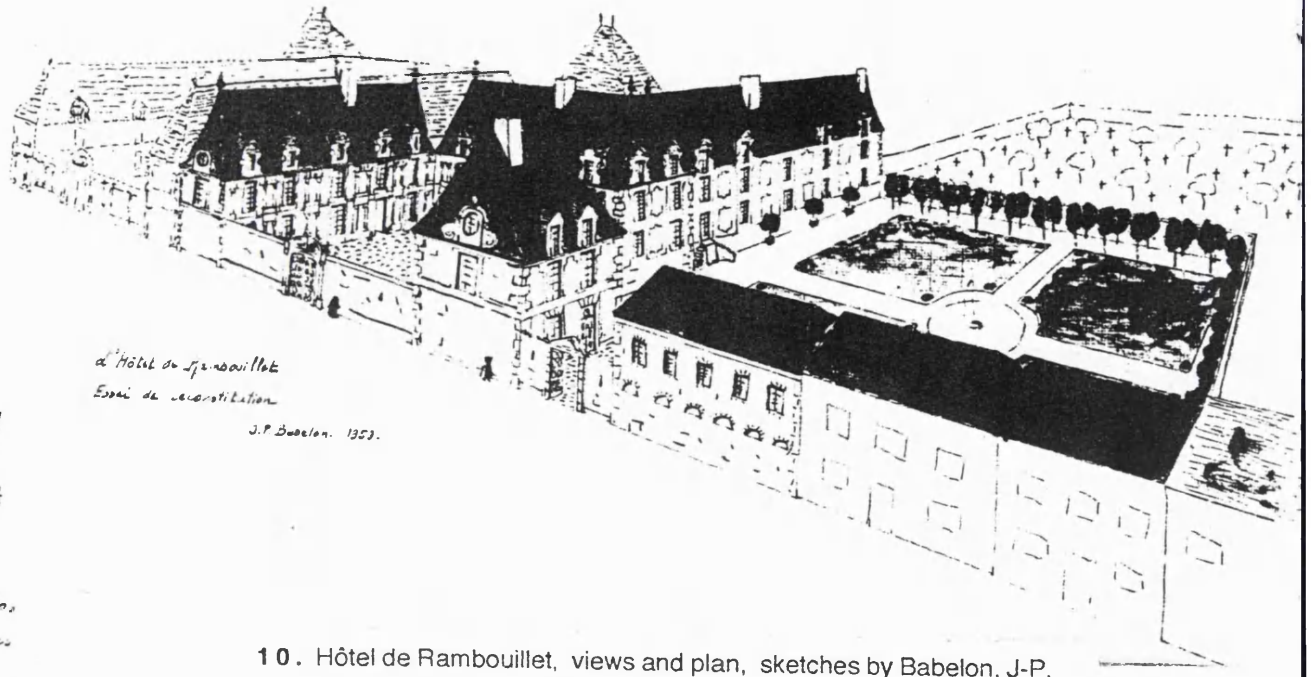


8. Hôtel de Rambouillet in *Plan de Jacques Gomboust* (1652) (detail).

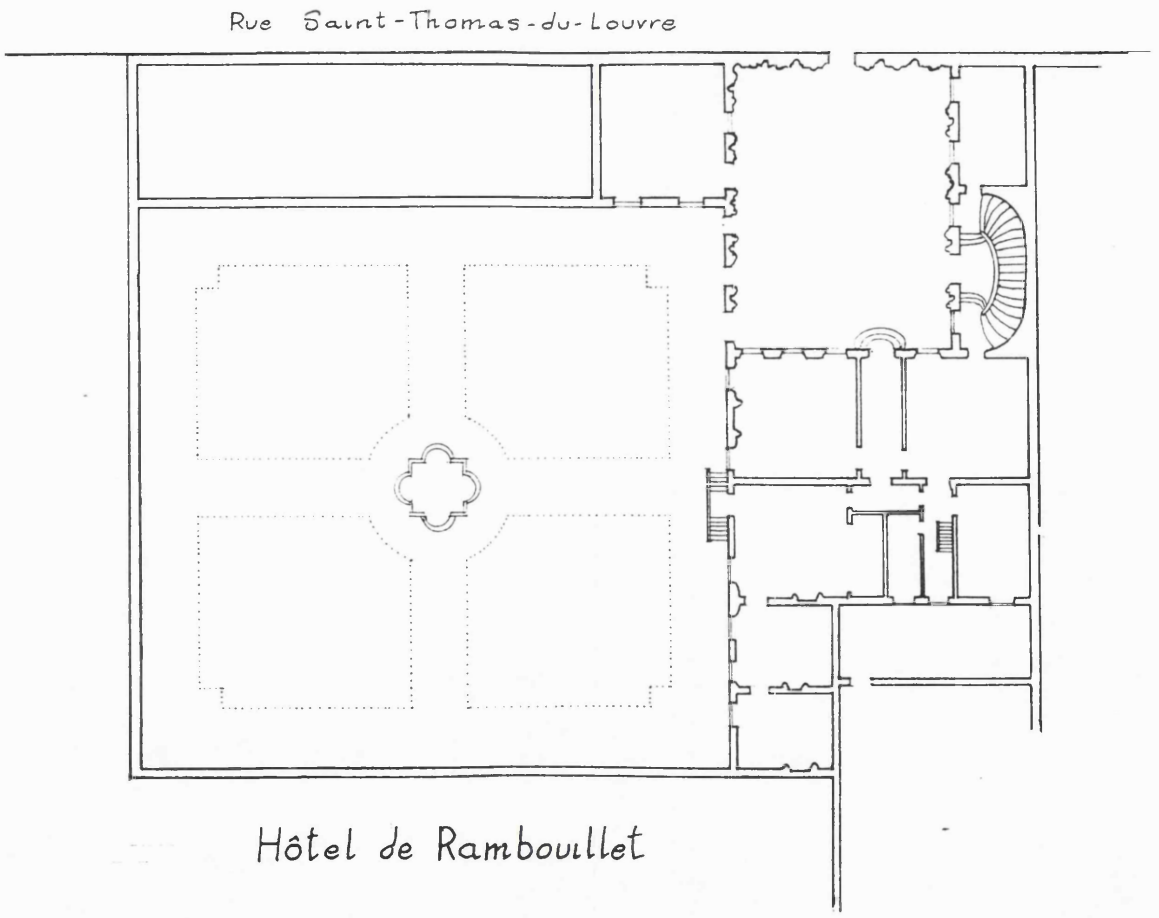


9. Hôtel d'Usez (i.e. de Rambouillet) in *Plan...par Sr Bullet, reveu & augmenté par Sr Jaillot 1710.* (detail)

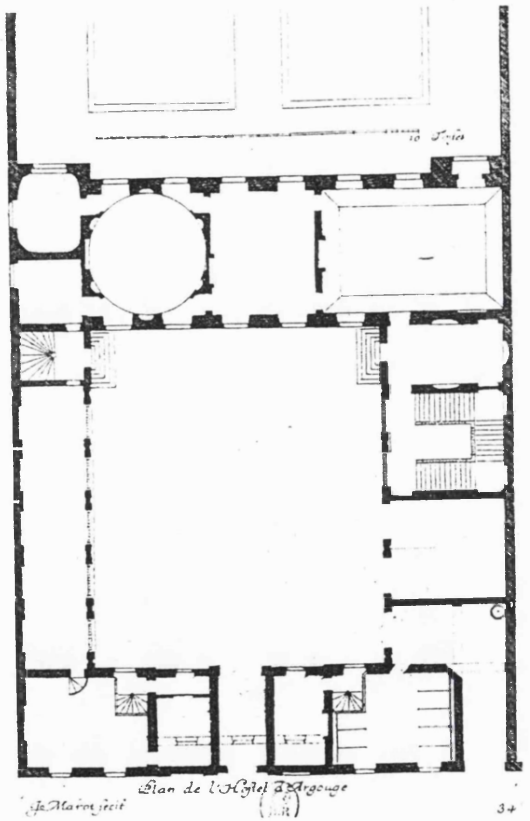




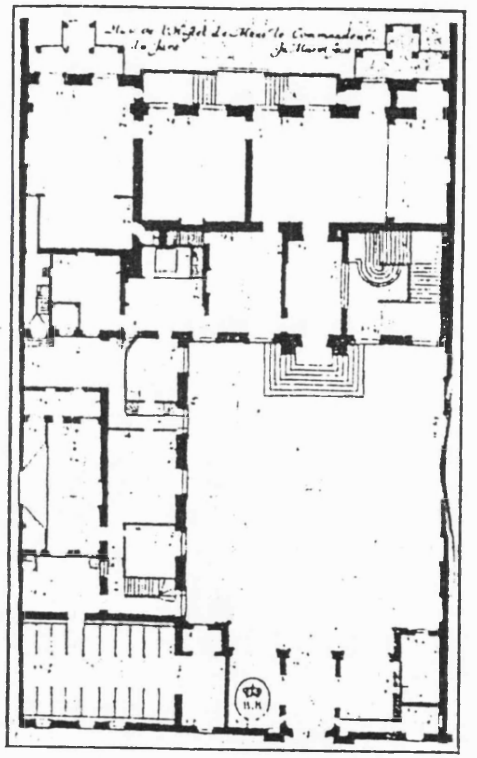
10. Hôtel de Rambouillet, views and plan, sketches by Babelon, J-P.



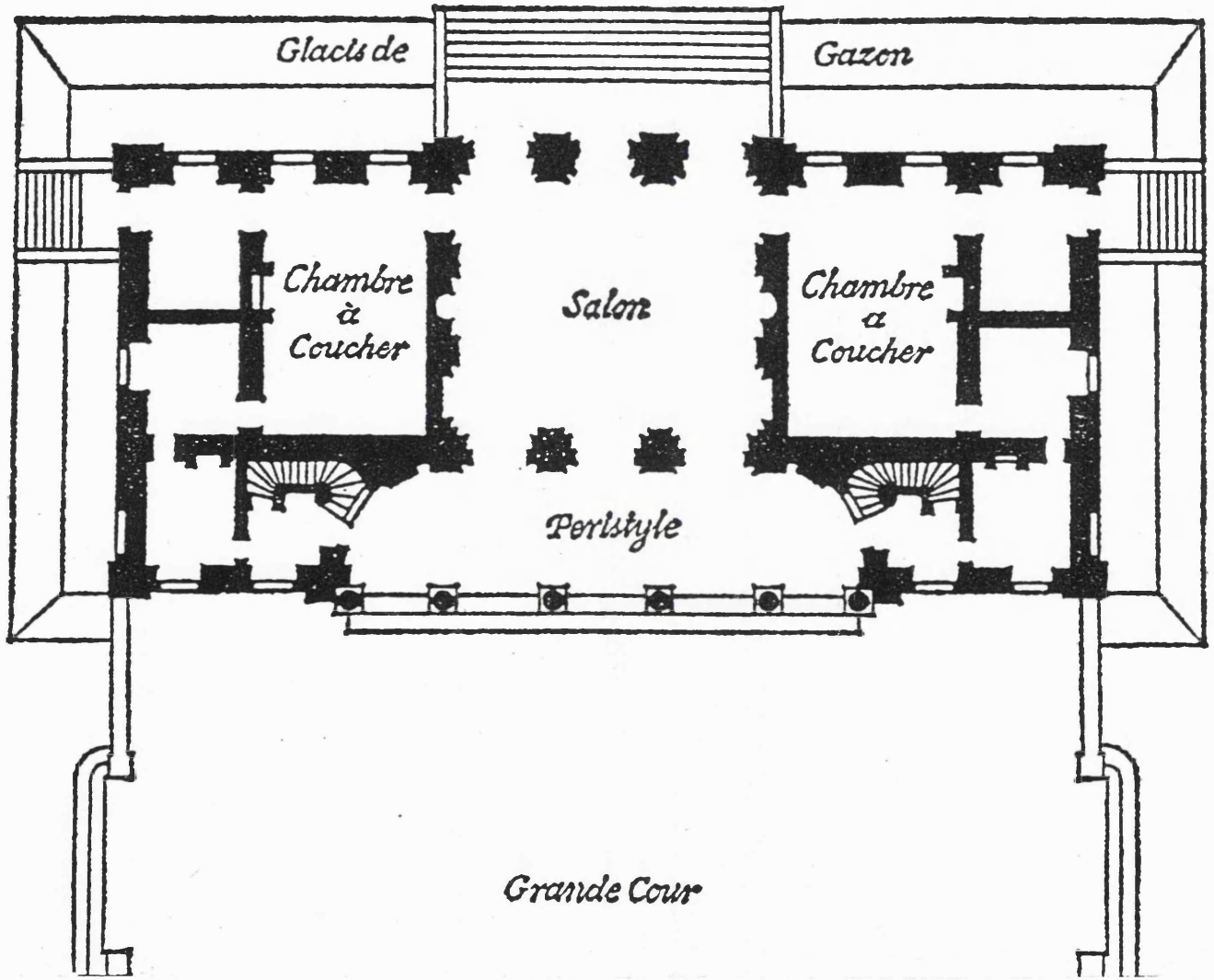
11. Hôtel de Rambouillet. Survey plan (1699) traced after manuscript plan: AN No. F_{21} 3567.



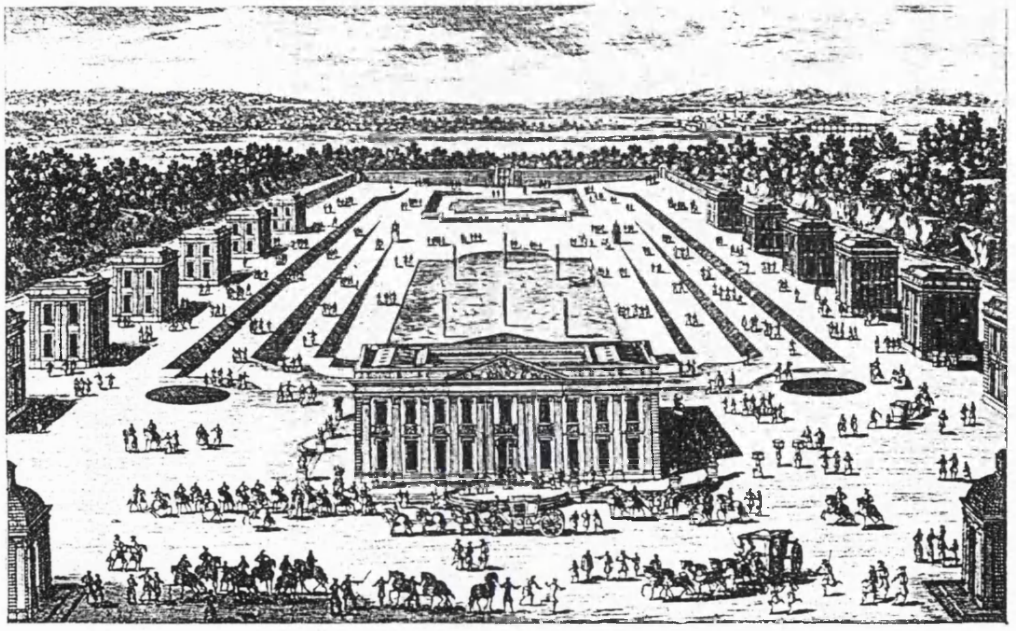
12. *Corps-de-logis simple.* Hôtel d'Argouge;
later Hôtel de Carnavalet (1661). by Mansart, F.



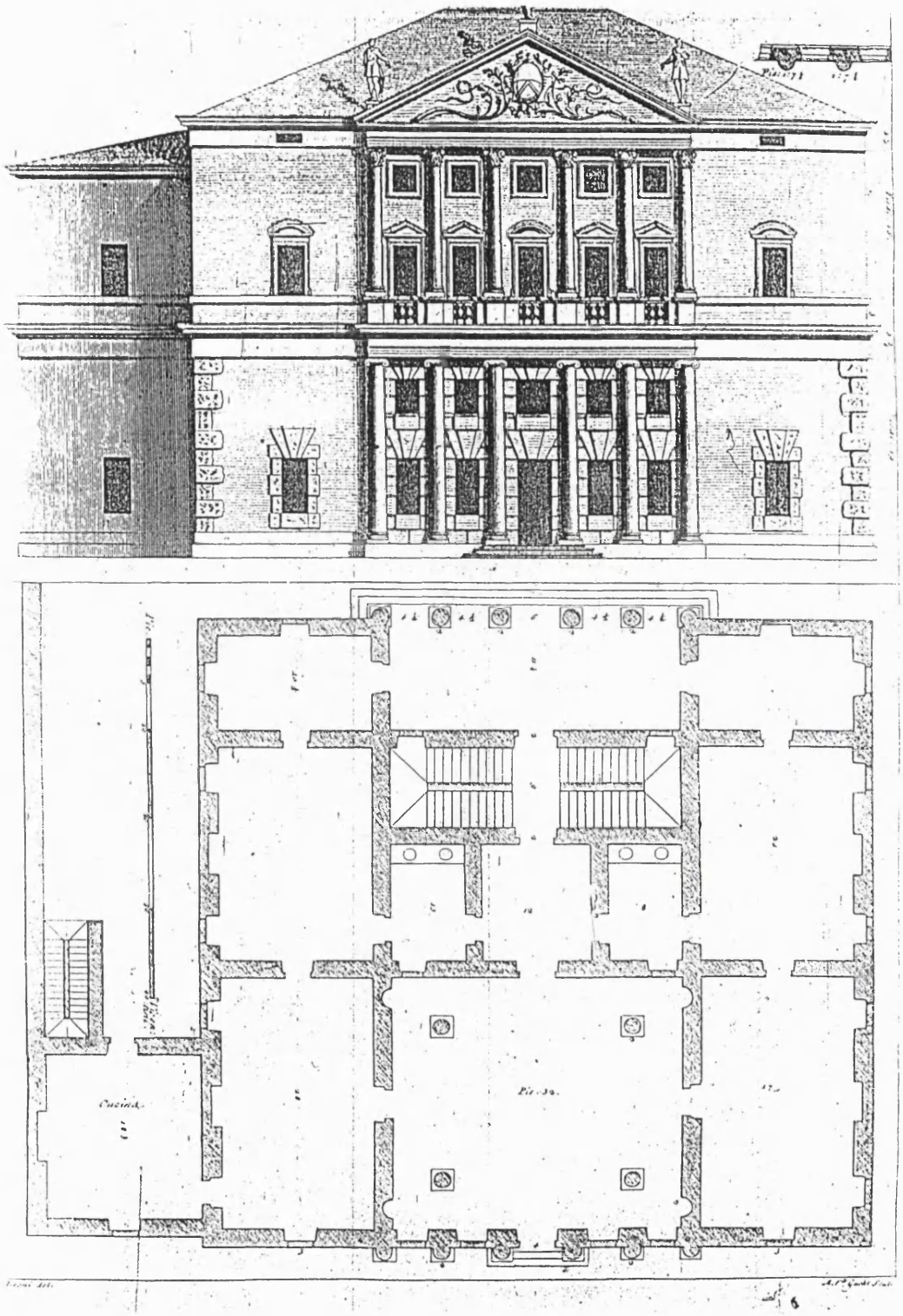
13. *Corps-de-logis double.*
Hôtel de Jars (1684). by Mansart, F.



14. *Corps-de-logis semi-double. Maison de campagne* at Saint-Ouen (c.1710) by Boffrand, G.

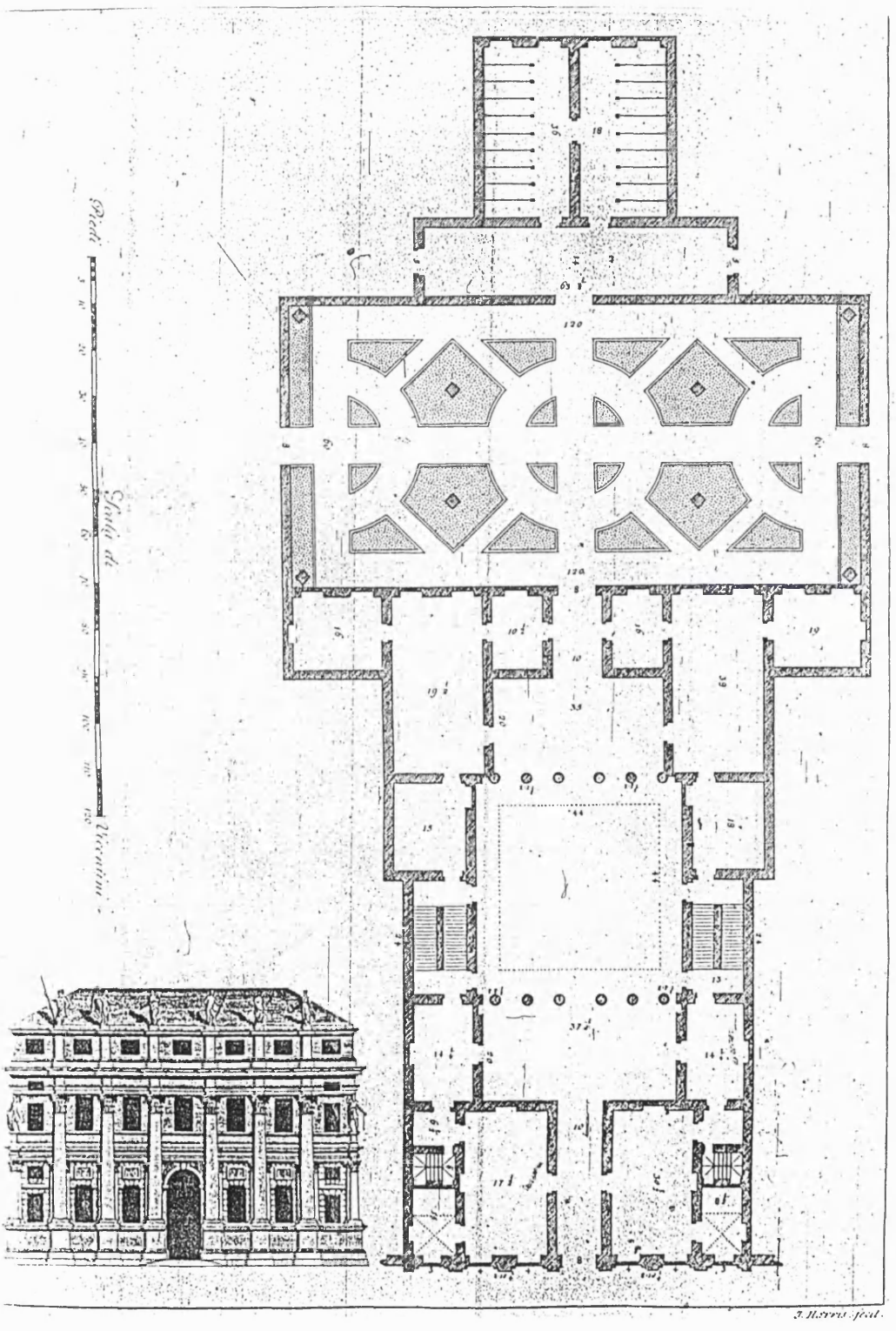


15. Marly-le-Roy (1680-6) by Hardouin-Mansart., J. Overall perspective by Pérelle.

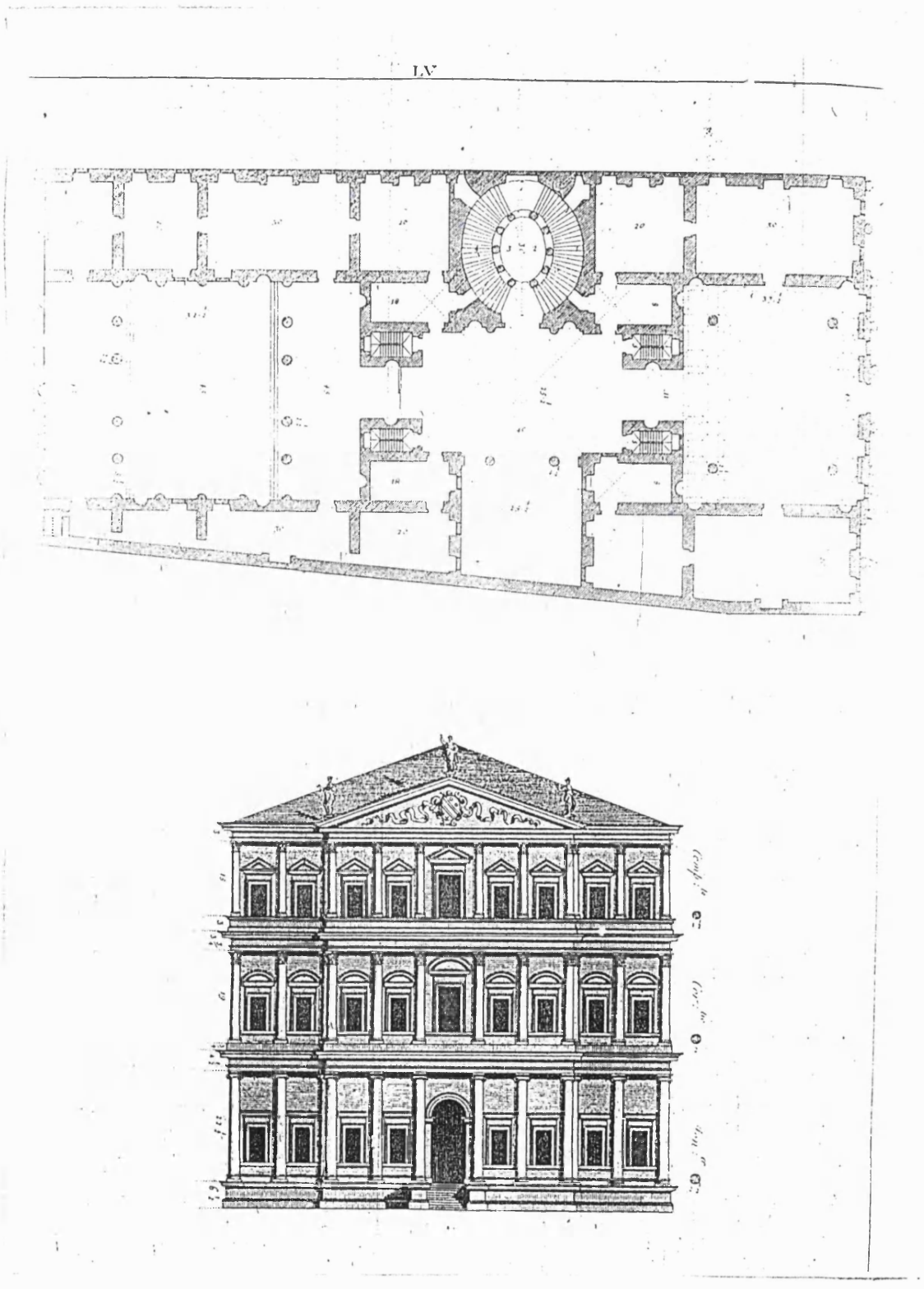


16. Italian house plans & elevations. After Palladio. Designed by Leone, G. (1715)

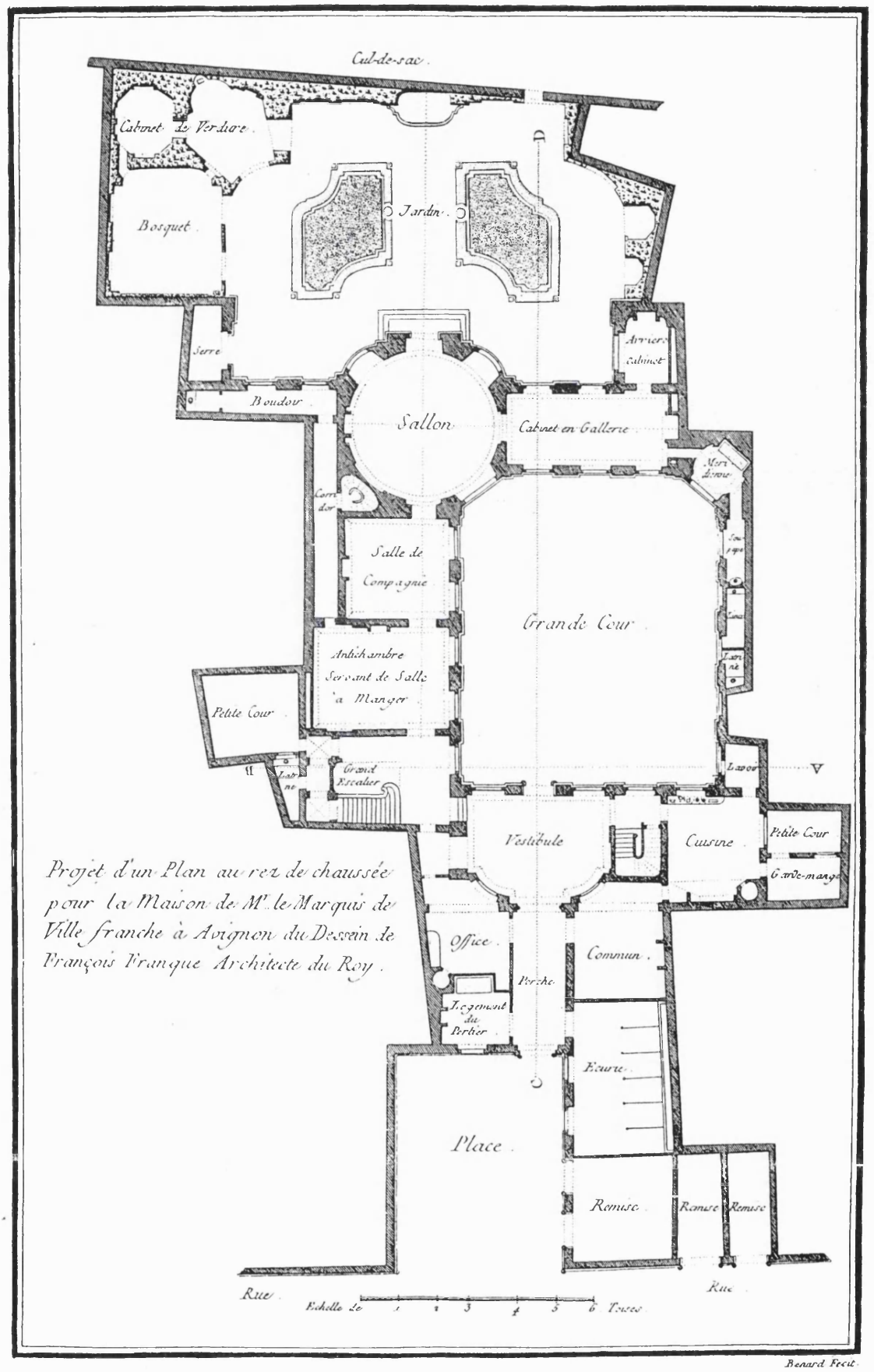
1 6a. Italian house design, after Palladio. Udine .



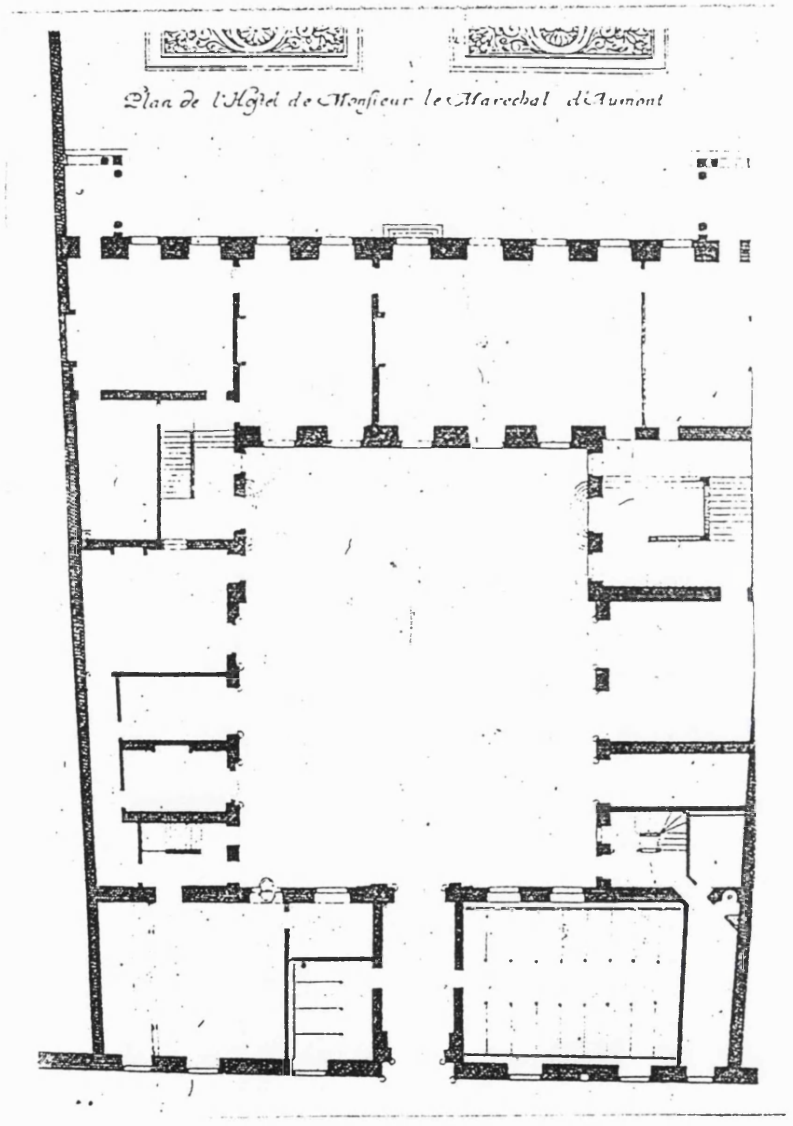
1 6b . Italian house design, after Palladio. Valmarana, noble family of same place



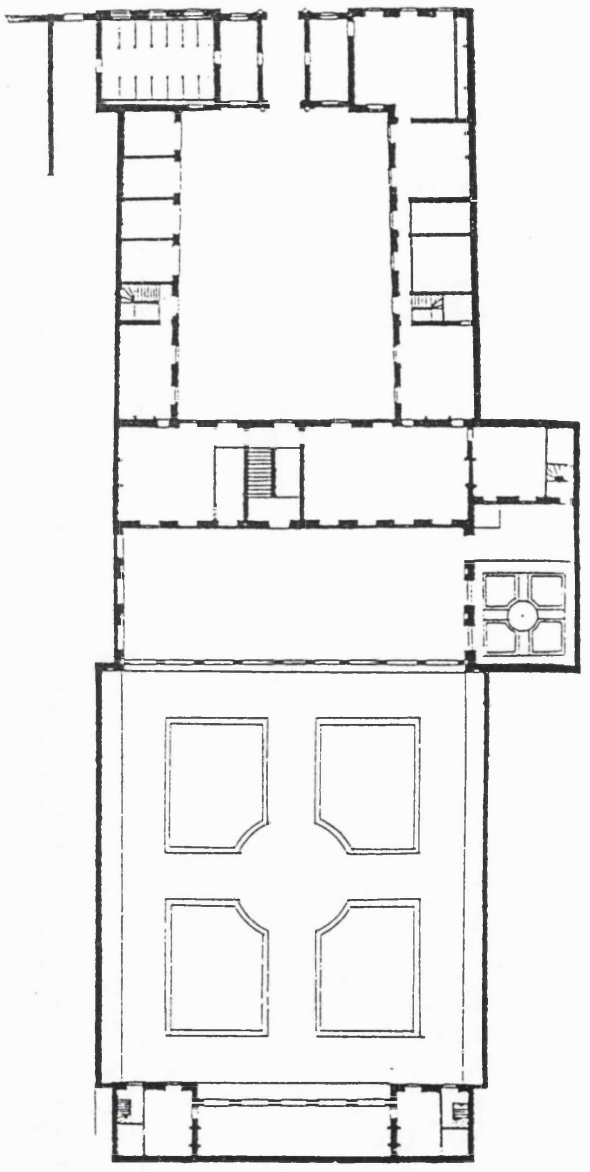
1 6c. Italian house design, after Palladio. Venice.



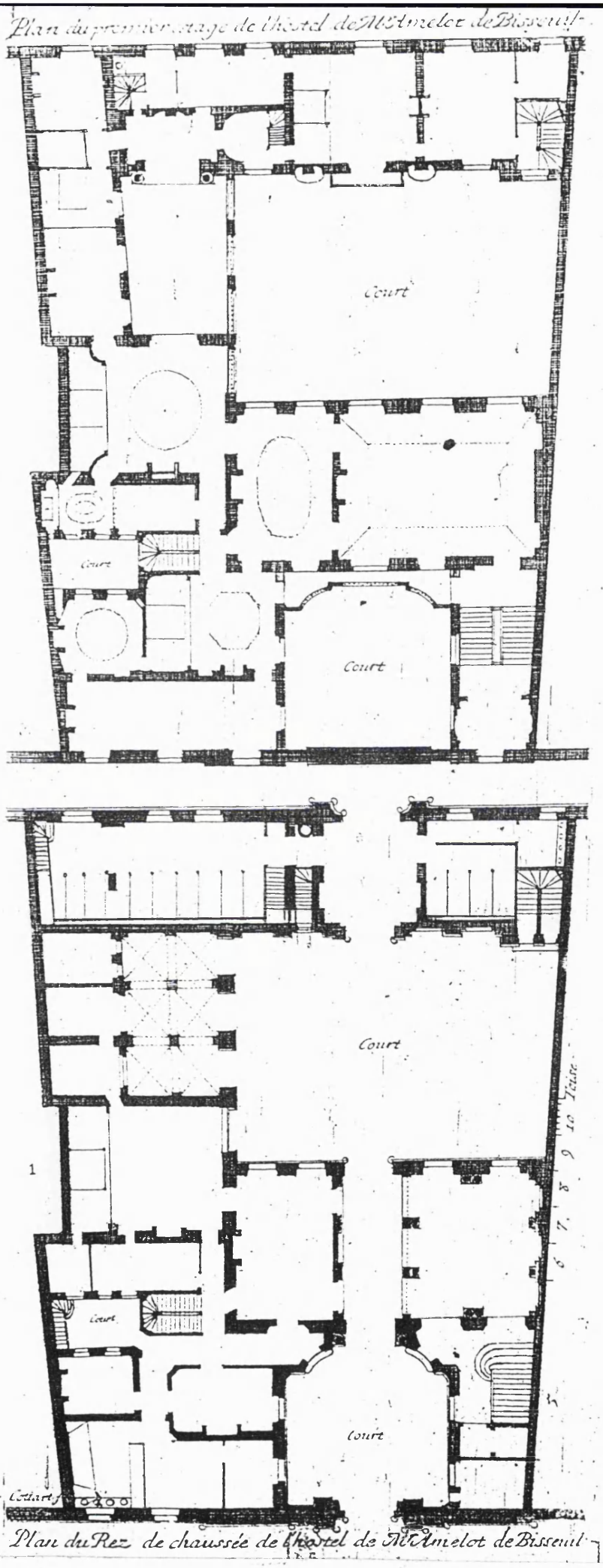
17. French *Hôtel* Ground floor plan project in Avignon. By François Franque.



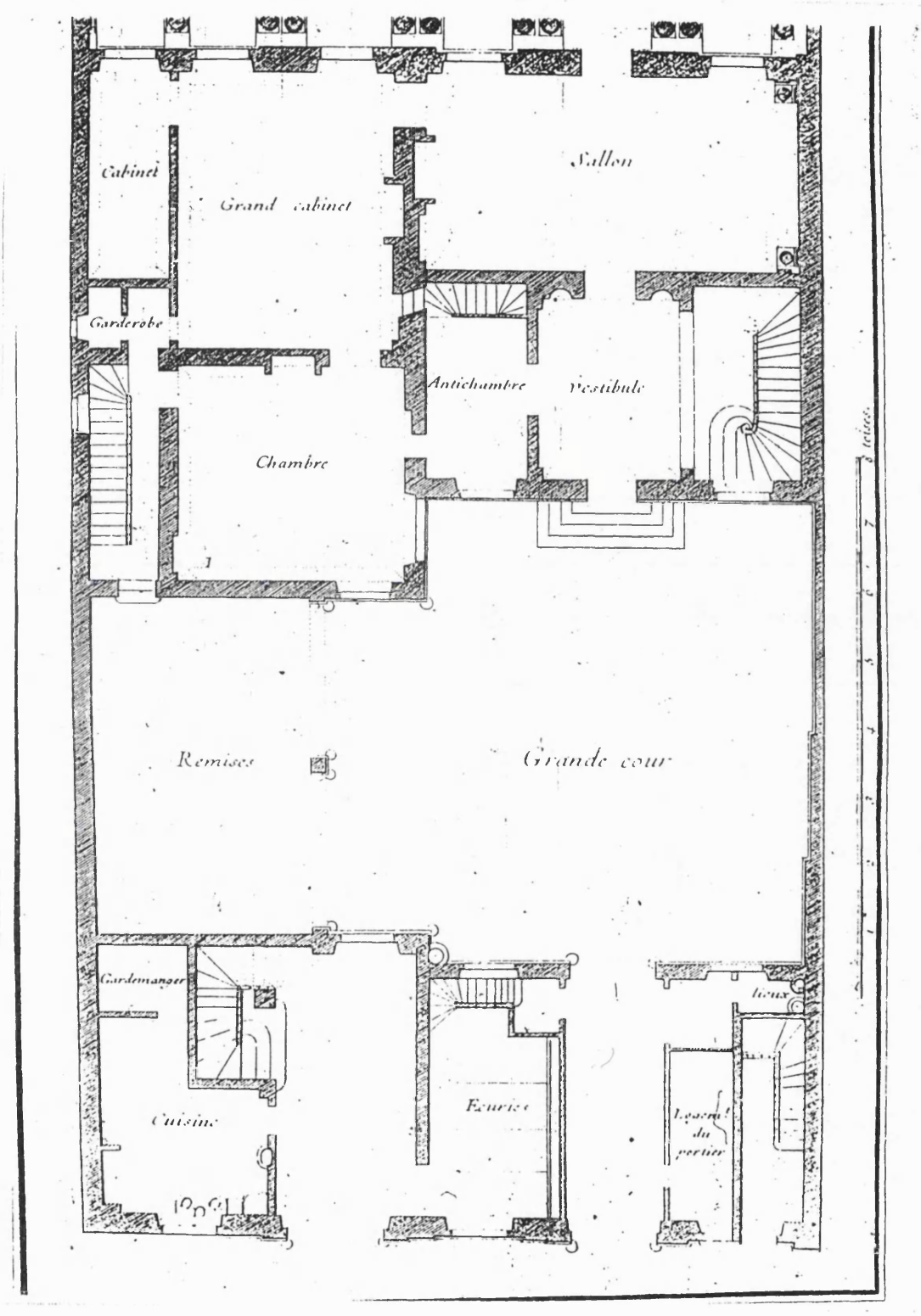
18. Hôtel D'Aumont (1648-49). By Le Vau and Mansart, F.



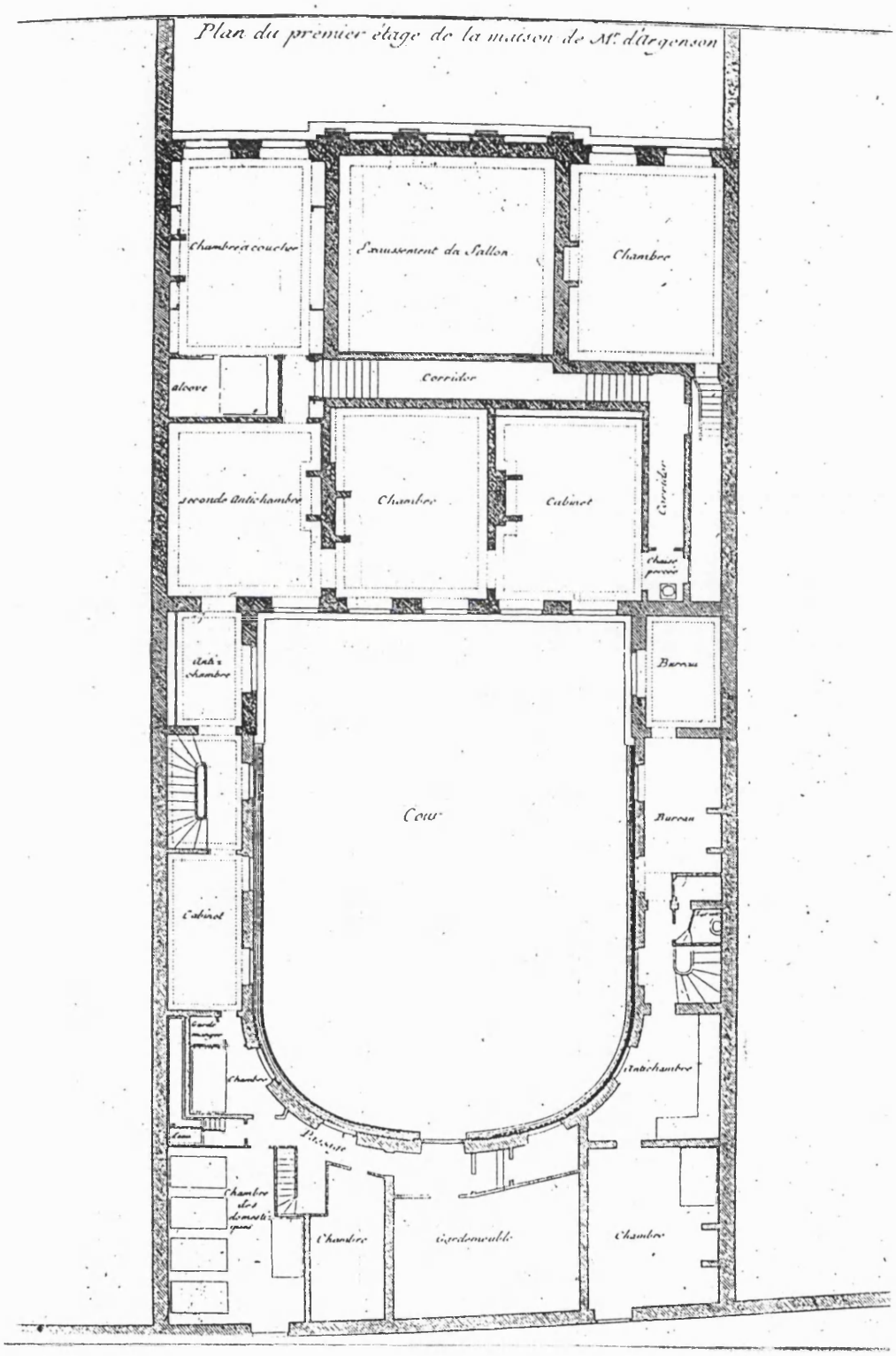
19. Hôtel de Sully (1625-30). By Jean Androuet du Cerceau.



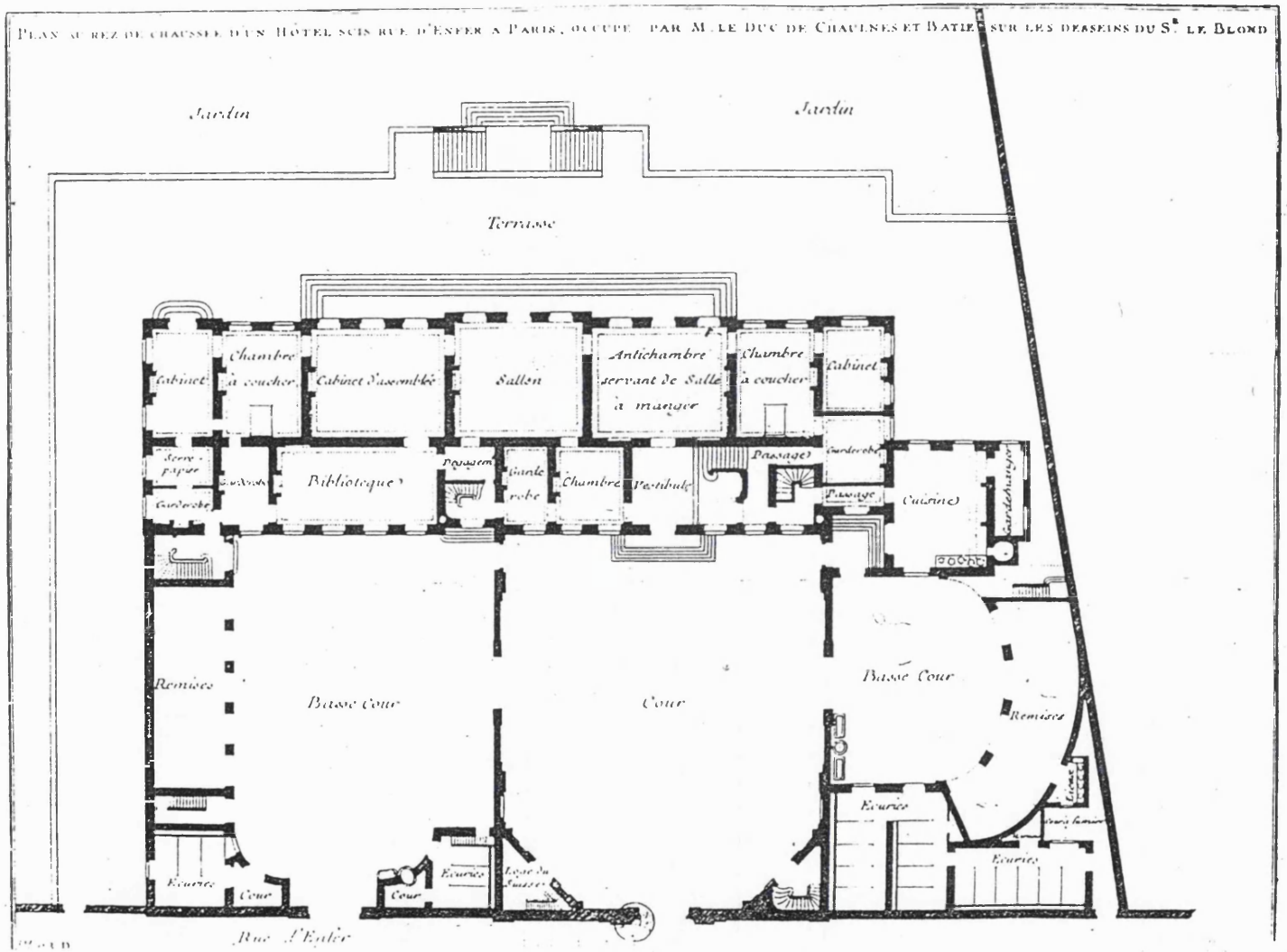
2 0. Hôtel Amelot-de-Bisseuil / Hôtel des Ambassadeurs de Hollande (1657-60). By Cottard, P.



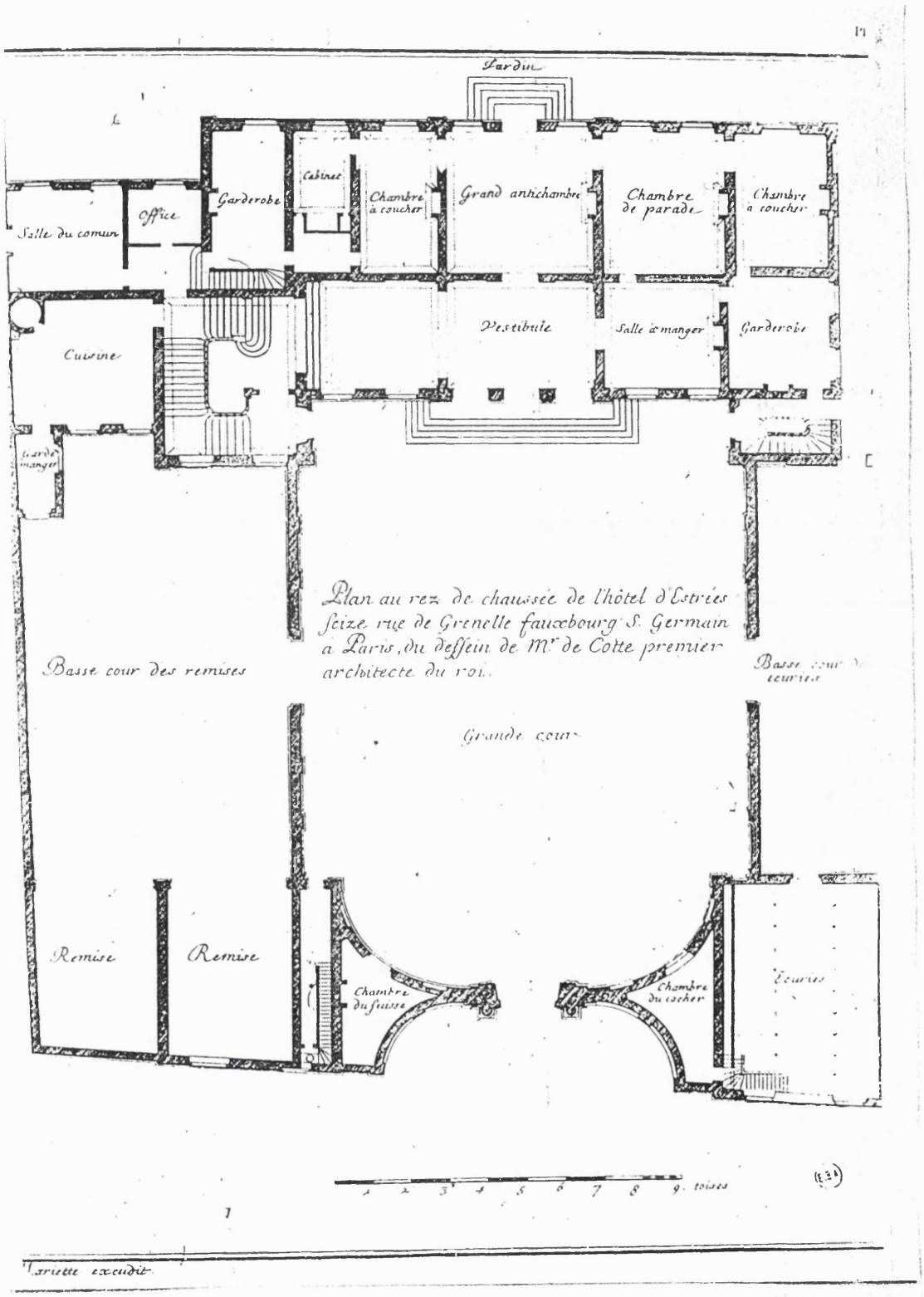
21. Maison Mansart. By Jules Hardouin-Mansart



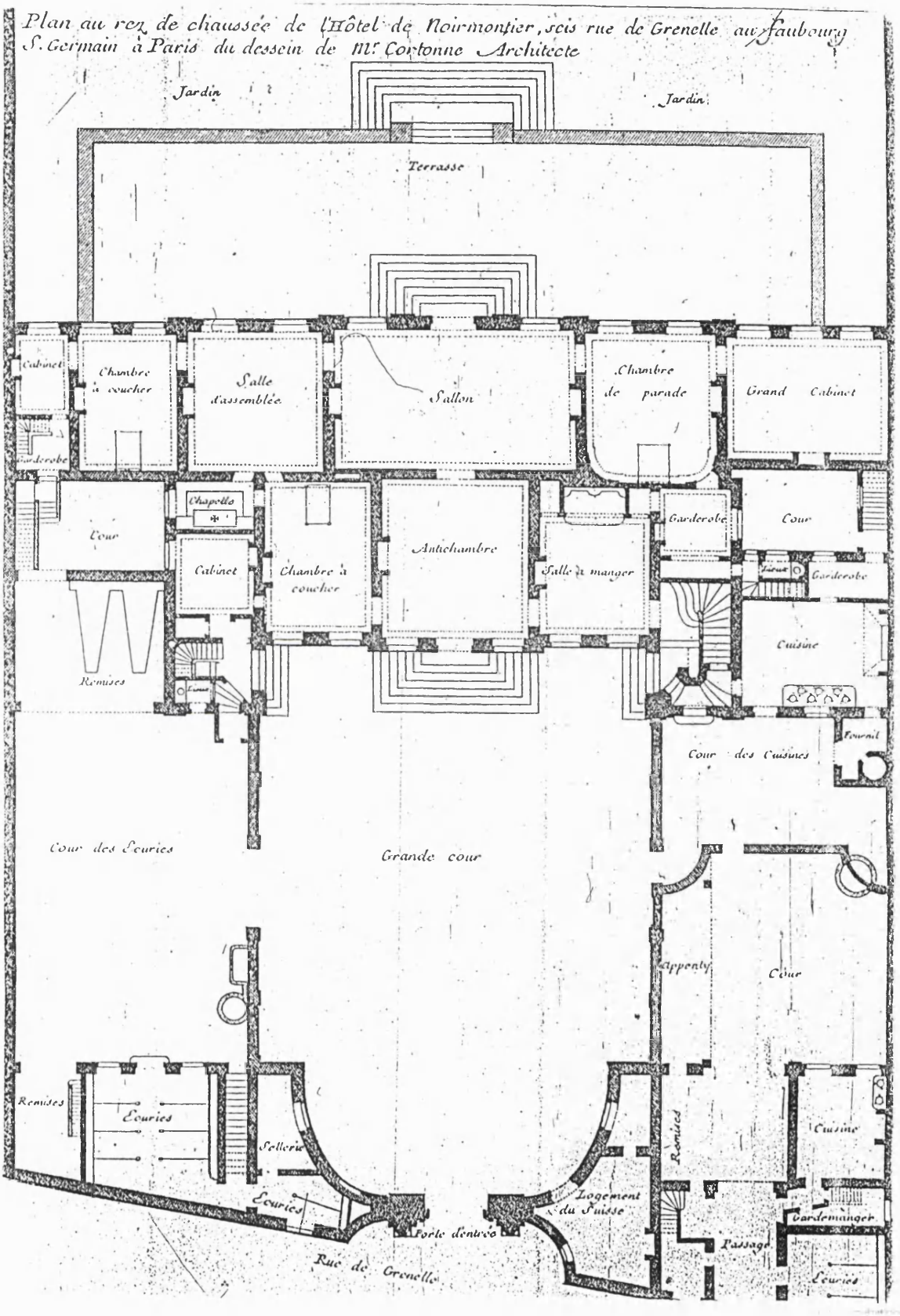
22. Hôtel d'Argenson (1726). By Boffrand, G.



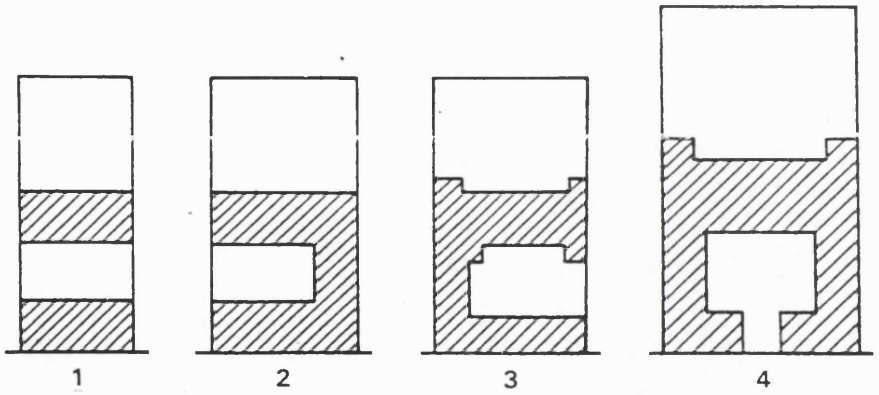
23. Hôtel de Chaulnes (Vendome) (1707). By Le Blond, J-B-A. and Courtonne, J.



24. Hôtel D'Estrées (1704). By de Cotte, R..

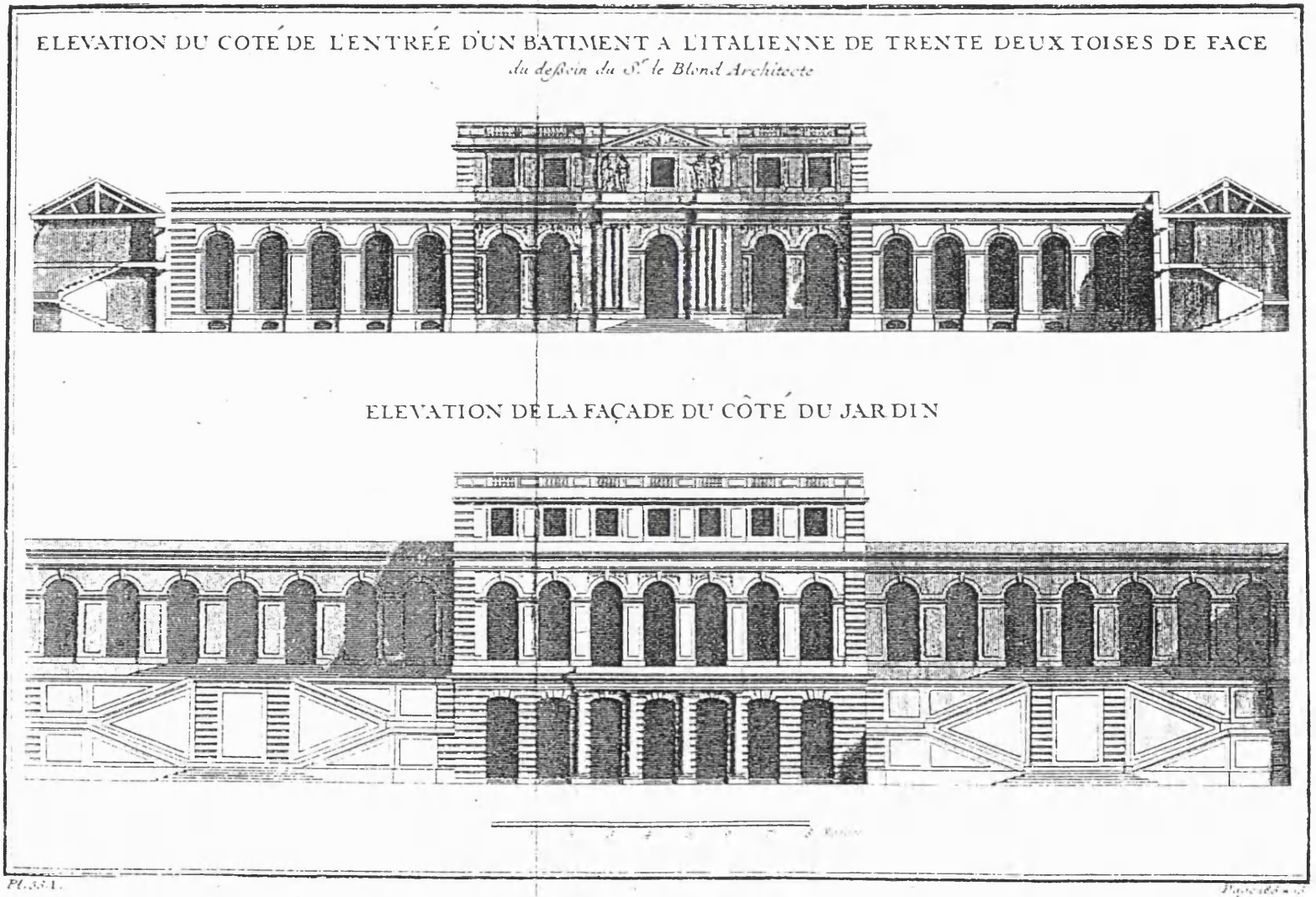


25. Hôtel de Noirmoutier (1720). By Courtonne, J. Ground floor plan.

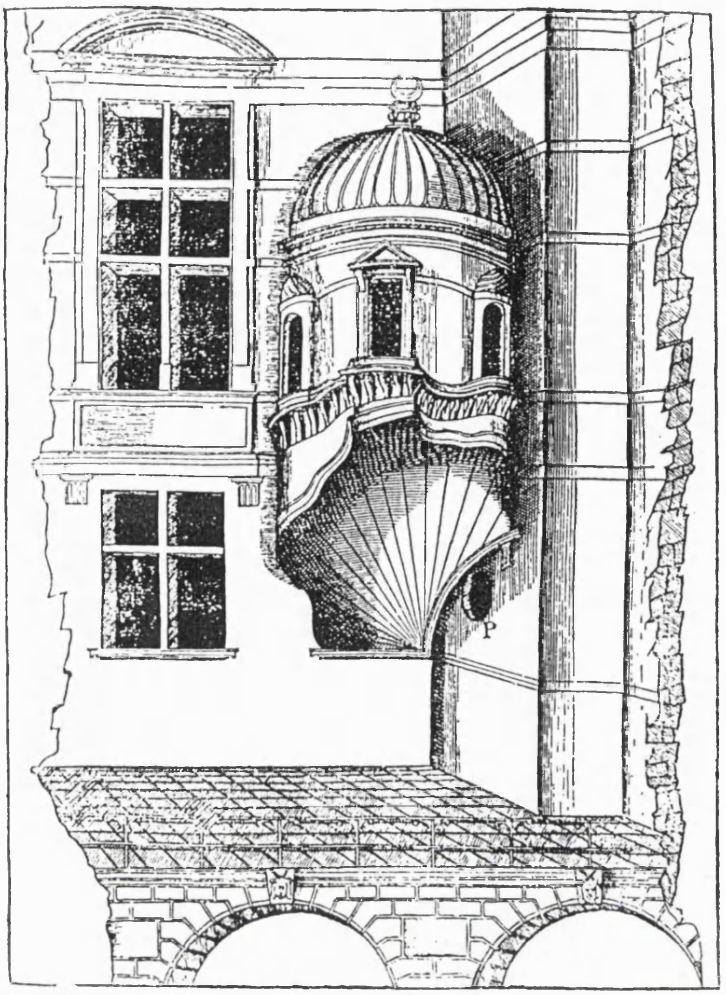


L'évolution du plan entre les maisons et l'hôtel. L'espace fonctionnel comportant deux cours ou une cour et un jardin (**1. et 2.**) se transforme en une architecture harmonieuse à une ou deux ailes sur la cour (**3. et 4.**).

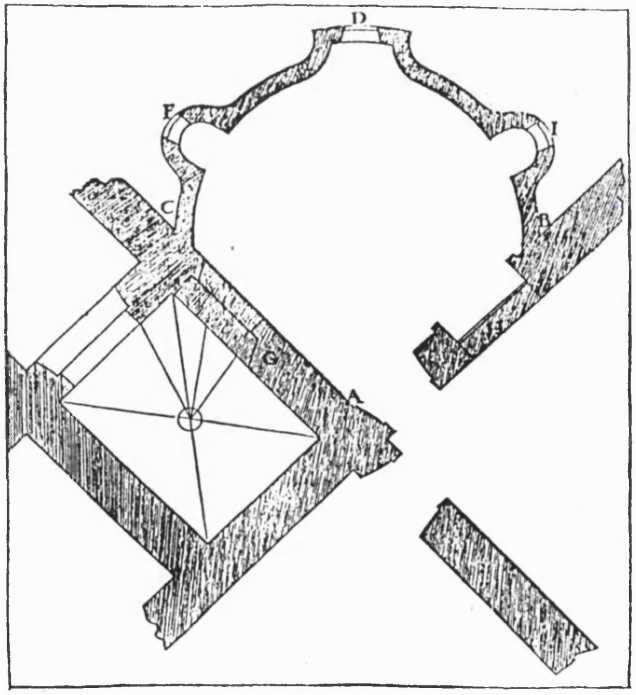
2 6. Different configurations of Parisian court house plans, illustrated by Babelon, J-P.



27. "*Bâtiment à l'Italienne*" Elevations designed by Le Blond, for *Cours d'architecture* (1710 edition). D'Aviler.

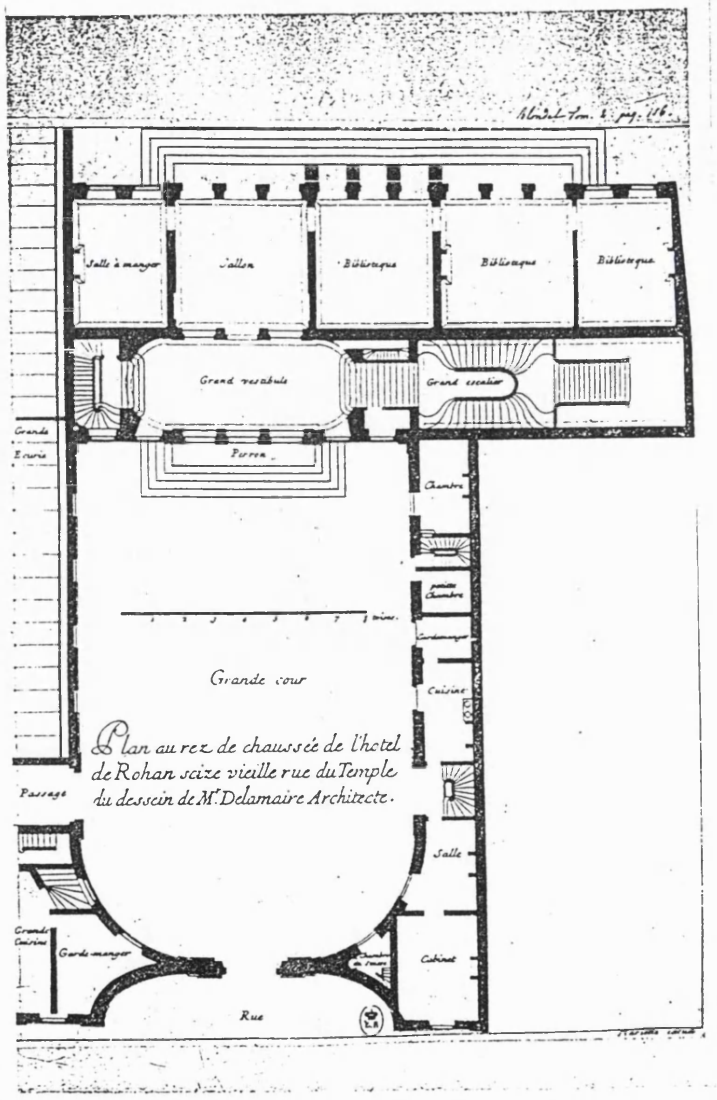


a . External view

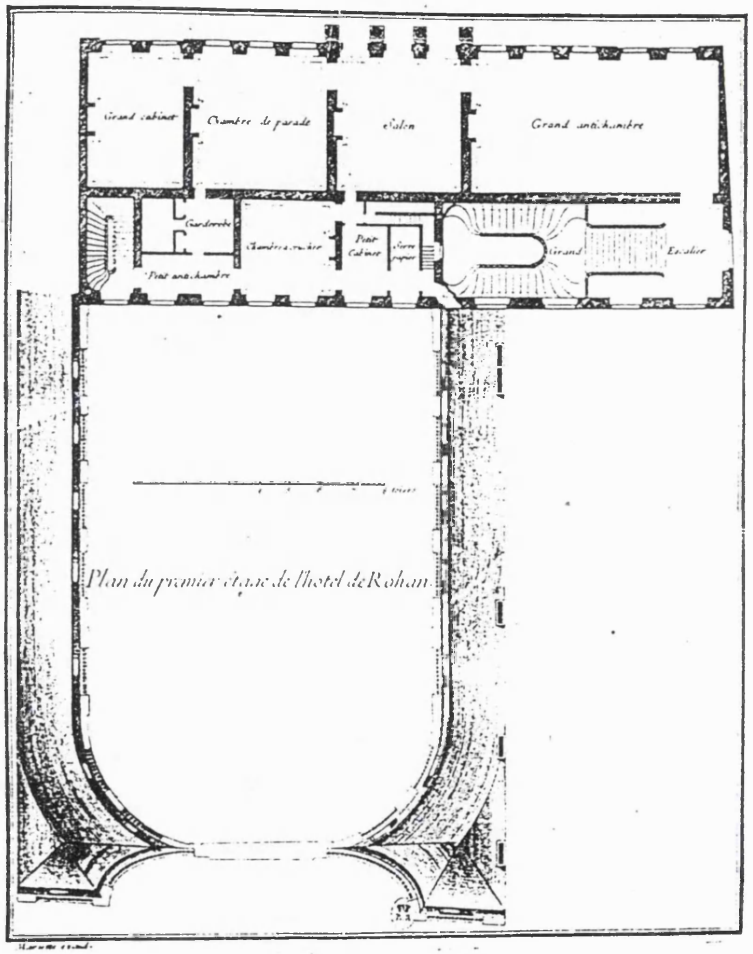


b . Plan,

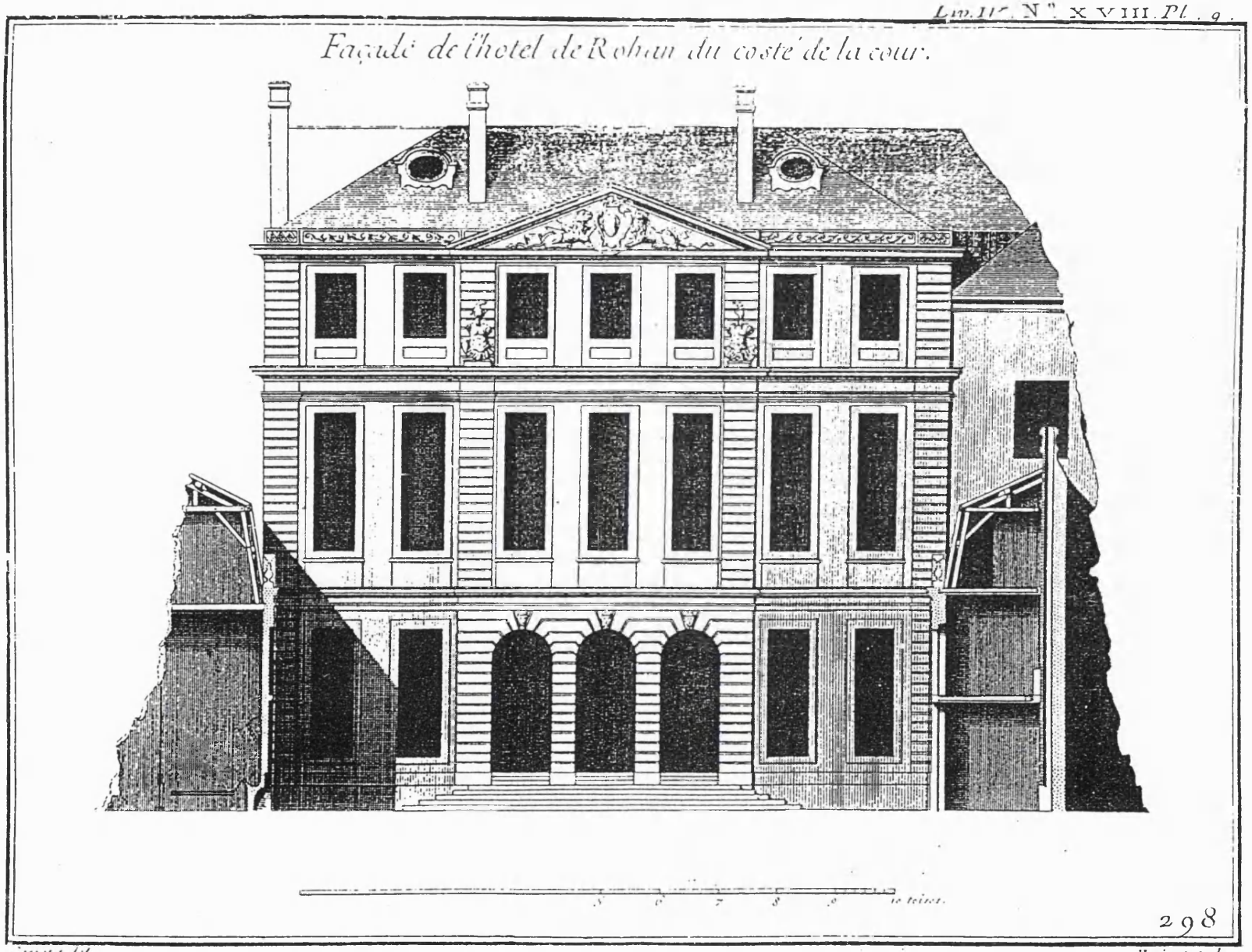
28 . Château d'Annet, *trompe — cabinet* (c. 1554), by L'Orme, Philibert de.



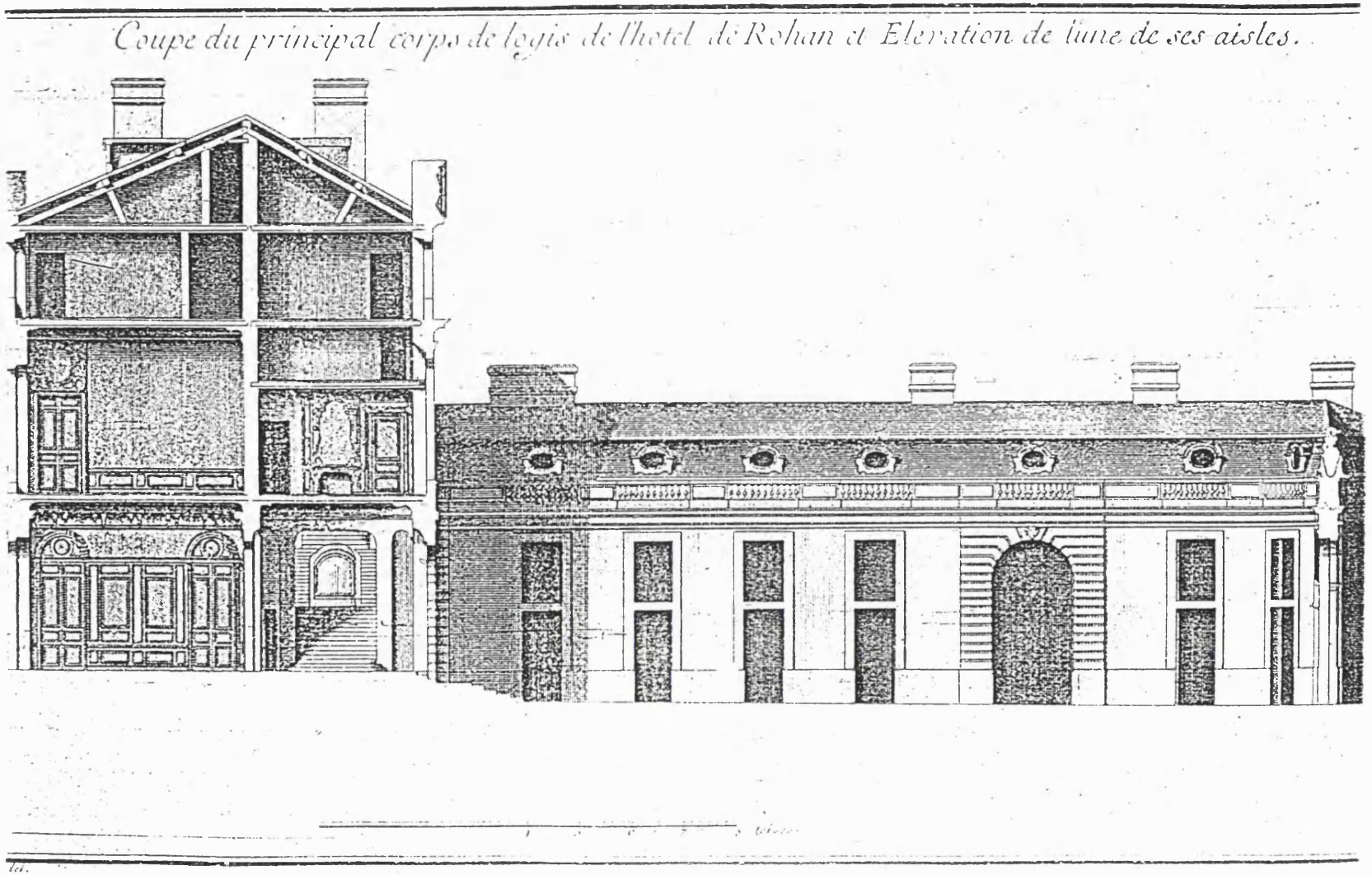
2 9a. Hotel de Rohan (1706), by Delamaire. Grond floor plan.



2 9b. Hotel de Rohan (1706), by Delamaire. First floor plan.

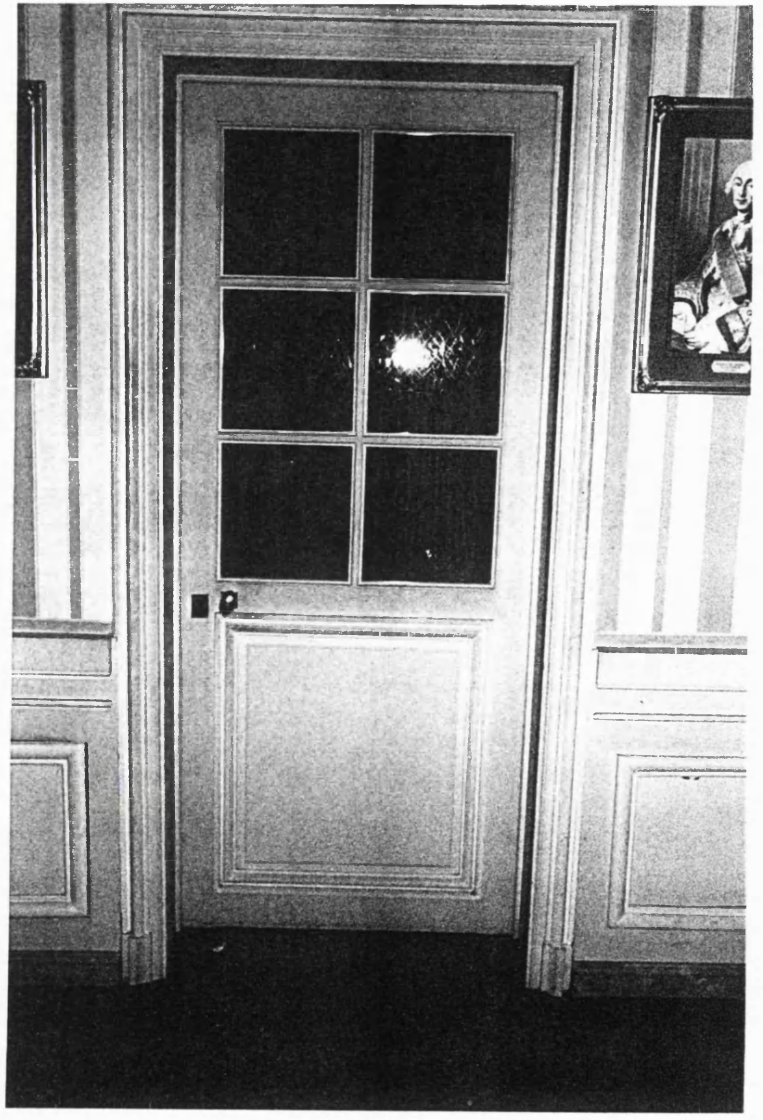


2 9c. Hotel de Rohan (1706), by Delamaire. Courtyard façade.

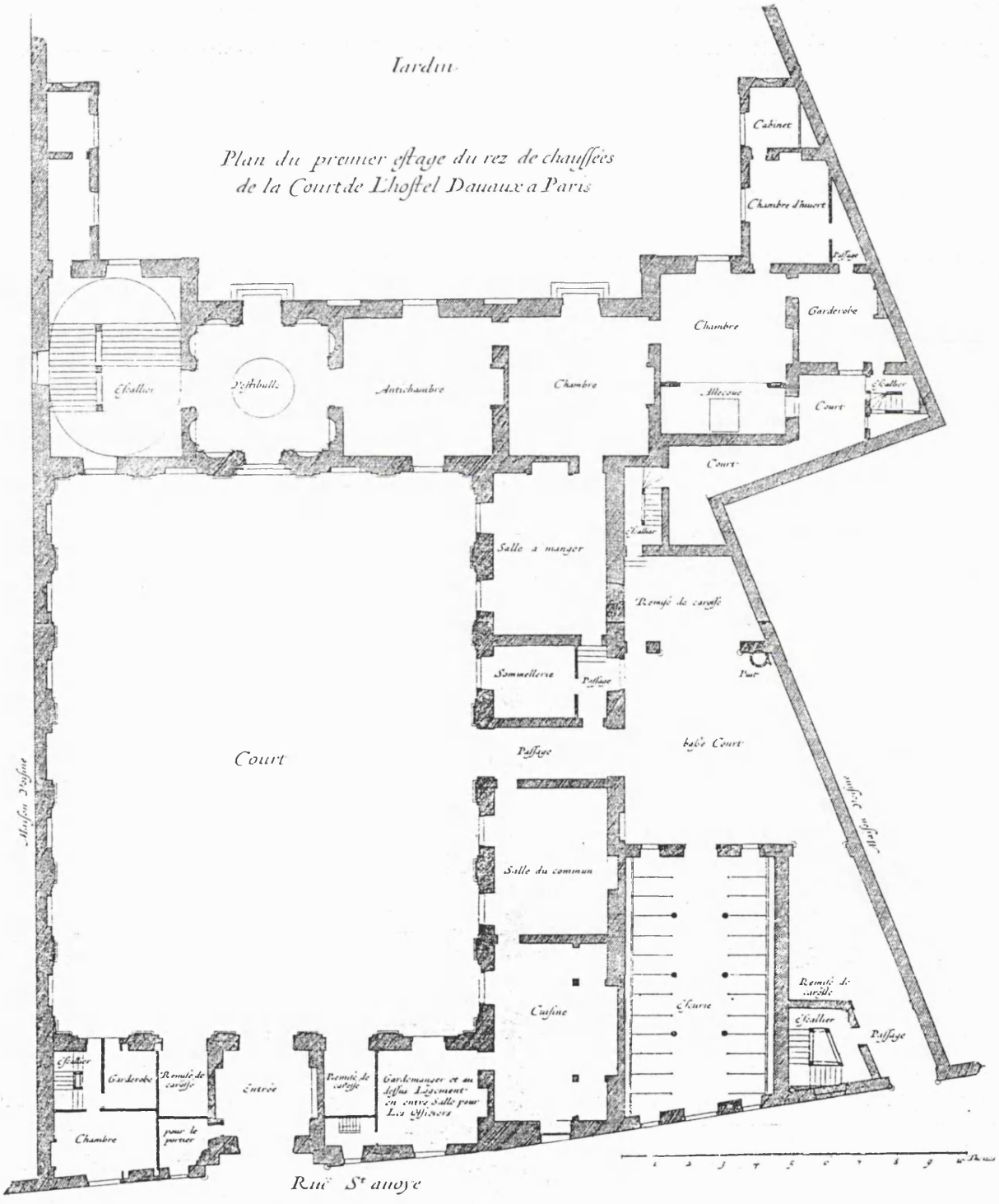


2 9d . Hotel de Rohan (1706), by Delamaire. Sectional elevation.

3 0a. *Faux-jour*, (borrowed light). window over door to light passage, Vaux-le-Vicomte.

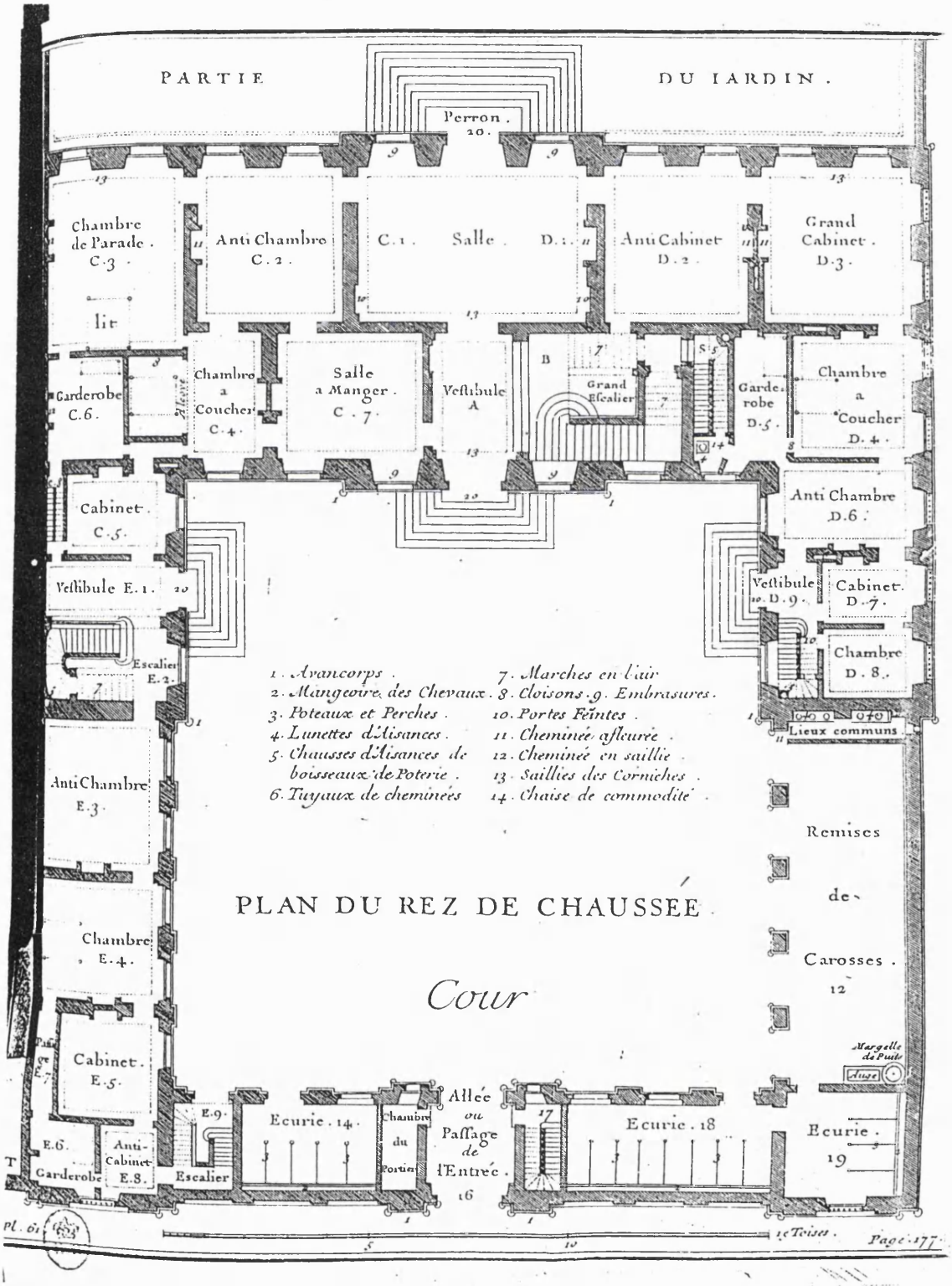


30b. *Faux-jour*, (borrowed light). Door with glazing panel to light an auxilliary space, Vaux-le-Vicomte.

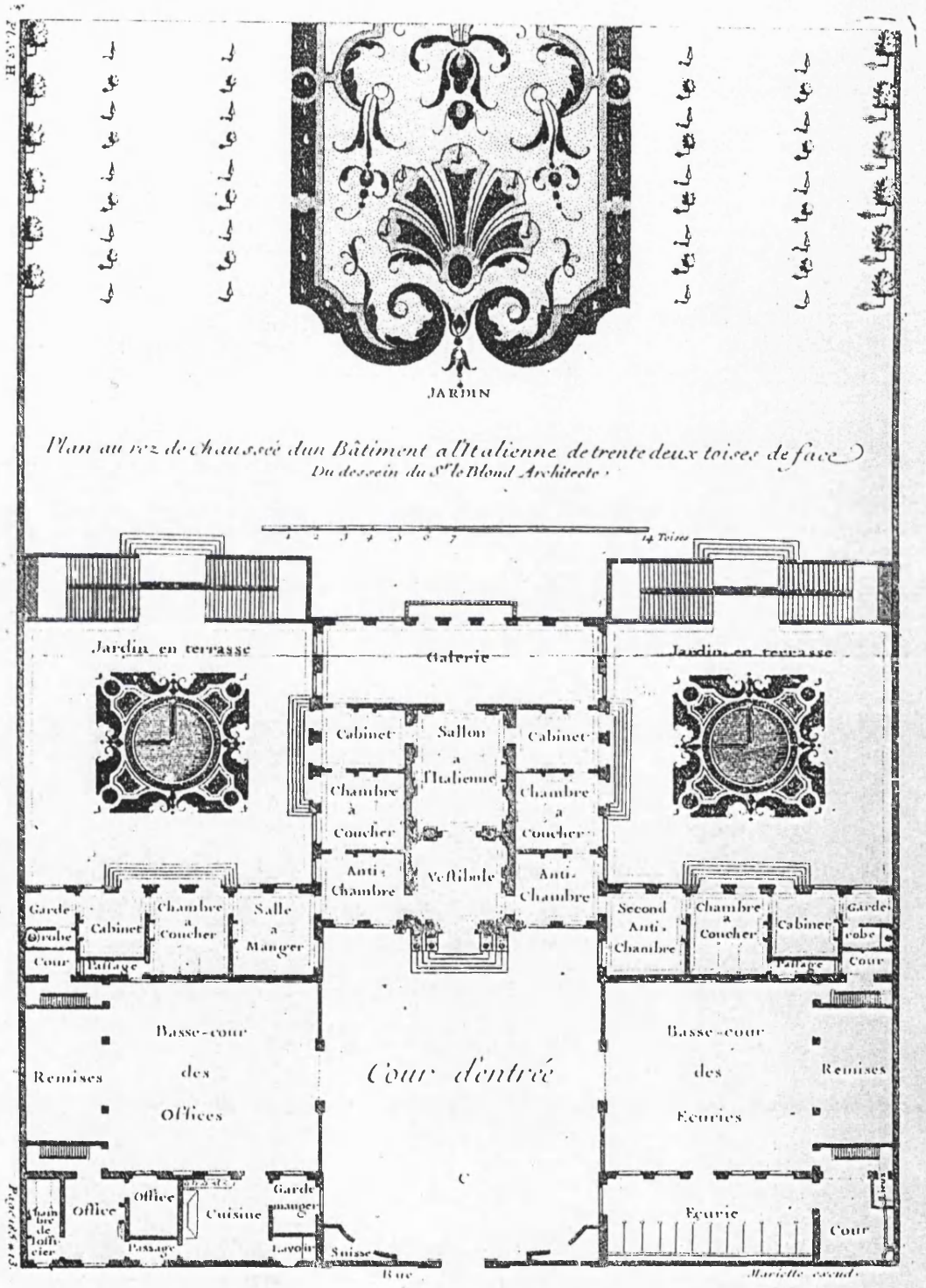


3 1. Space annotaton on plans. Hôtel Dauaux. Le Muet. *Maniere de bien bastir* (1647).

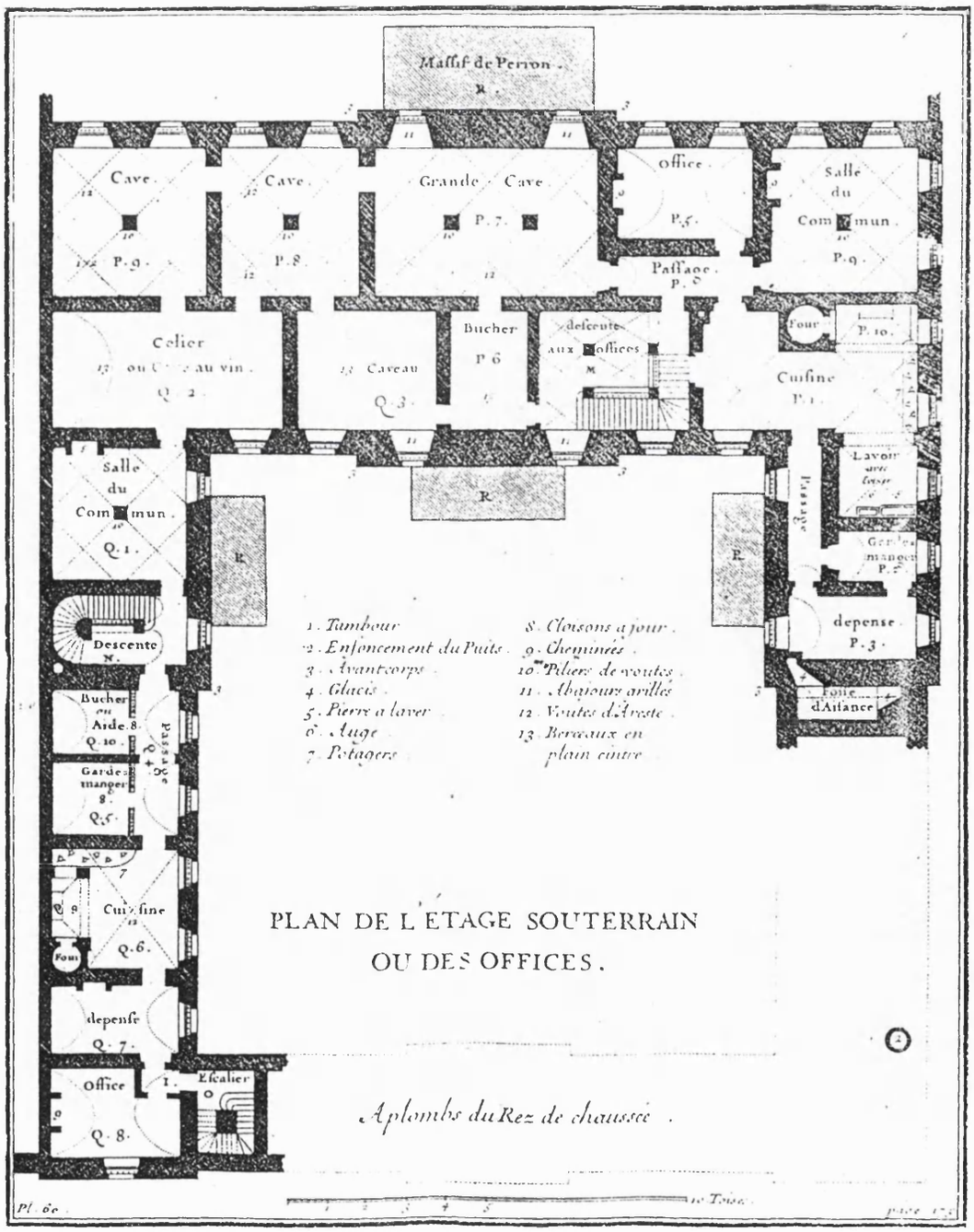
3 2 . Multi-function rooms. *Les Quatre Saisons —L'Hiver* by A. Bosse



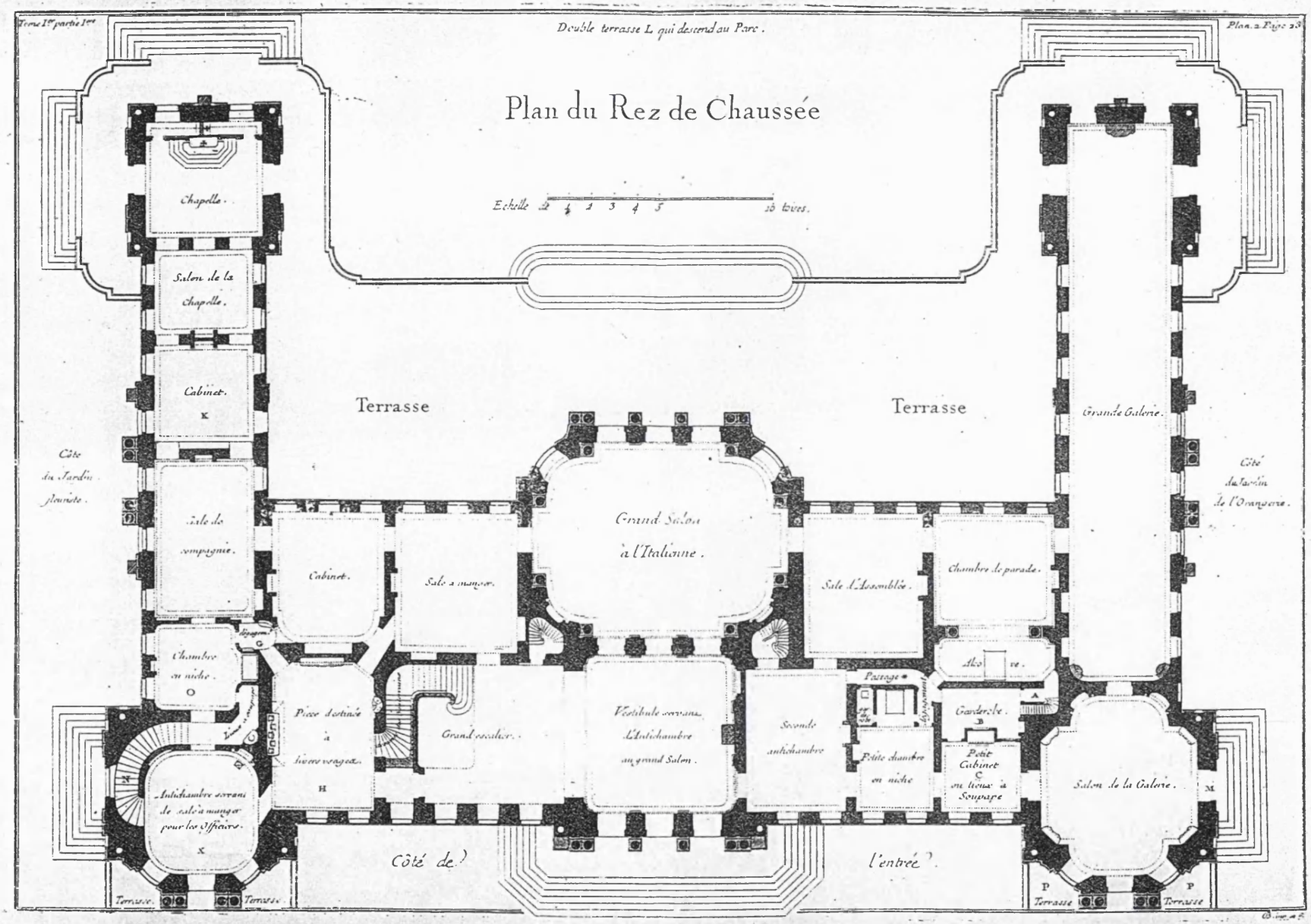
33. Ground floor plan, *Plan du Rez de Chaussée.* In *Cours d'architecture* (1691). D'Aviler.



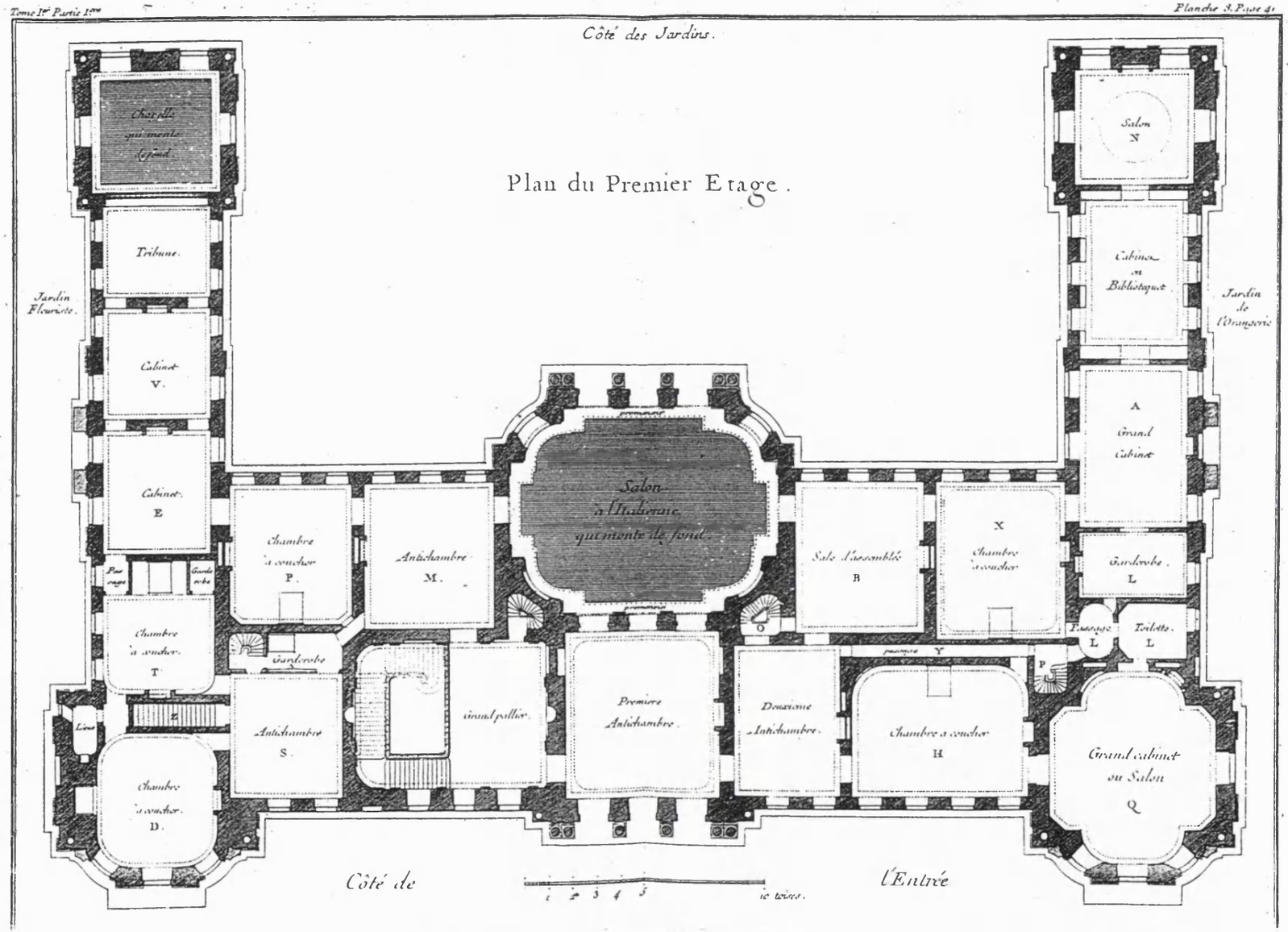
34. Ground floor plan of "*Bâtiment à l'Italienne*" designed by Le Blond, for *Cours d'architecture* (1710 ed). D'Aviler



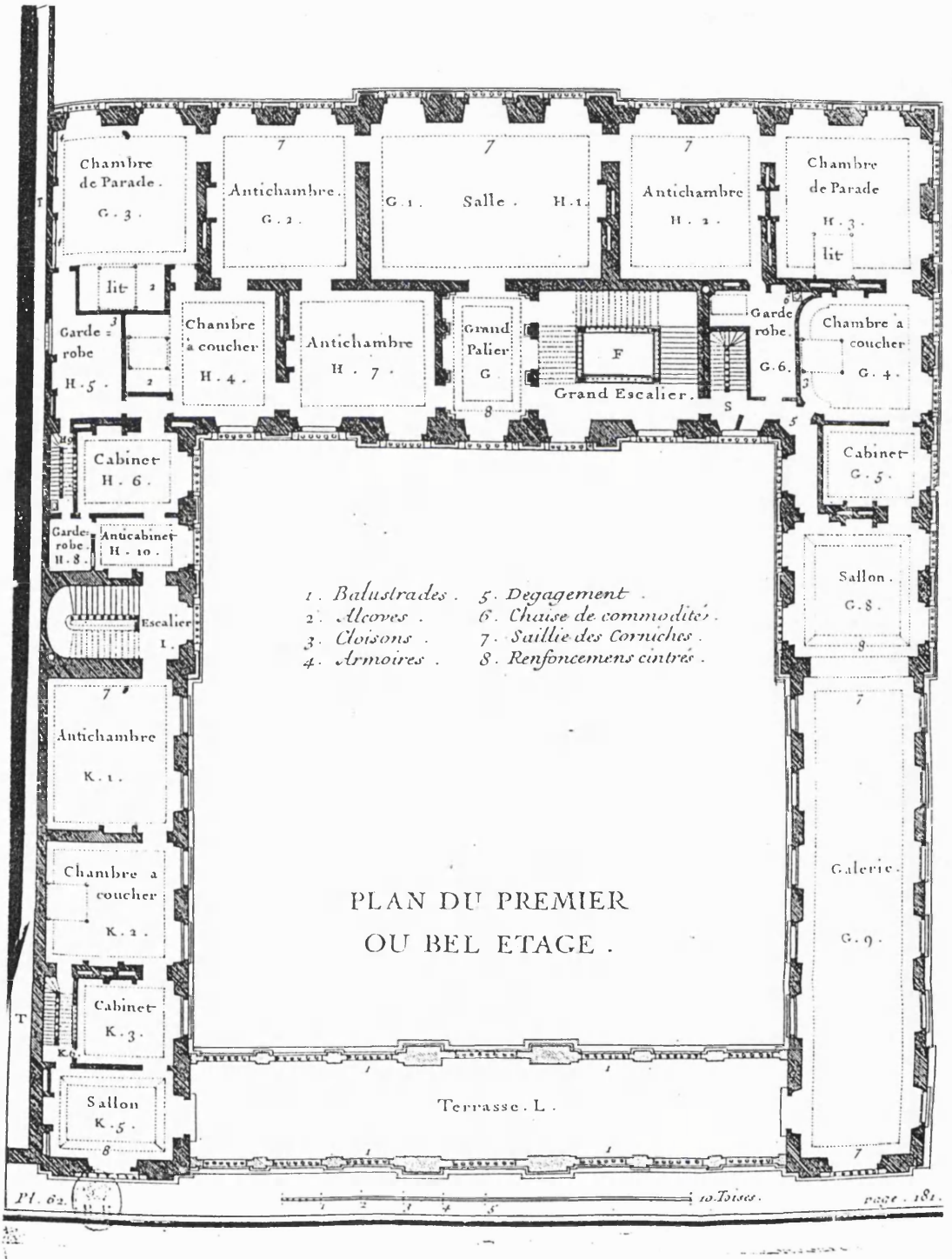
35. Lower ground floor plan, *Plan de l'etage Souterrain ou des Offices*, in *Cours d'architecture* (1691). D'Aviler.



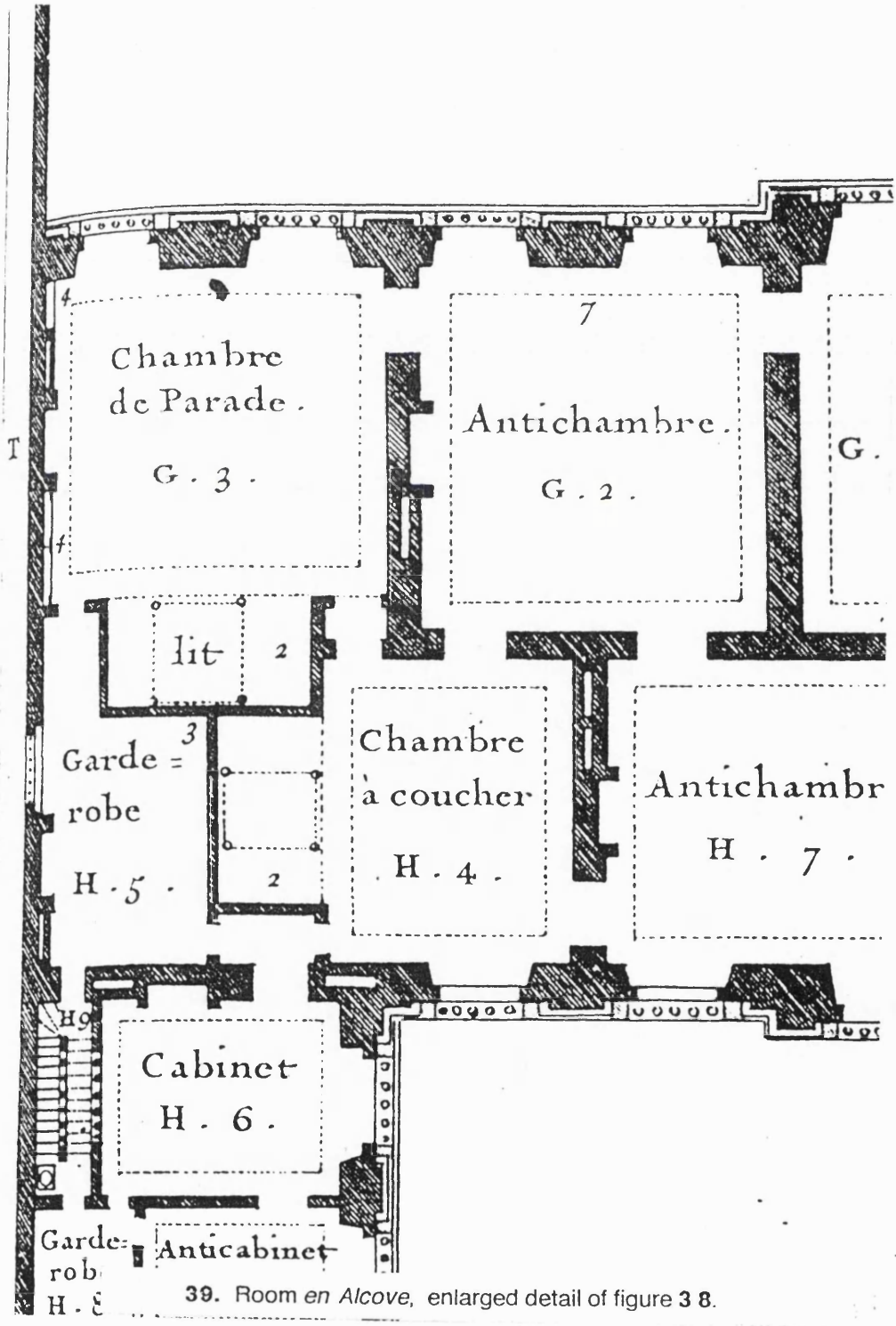
36. Ground floor plan, *Plan du Rez de Chaussée*, in *Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne* (1737-8) Blondel,JF



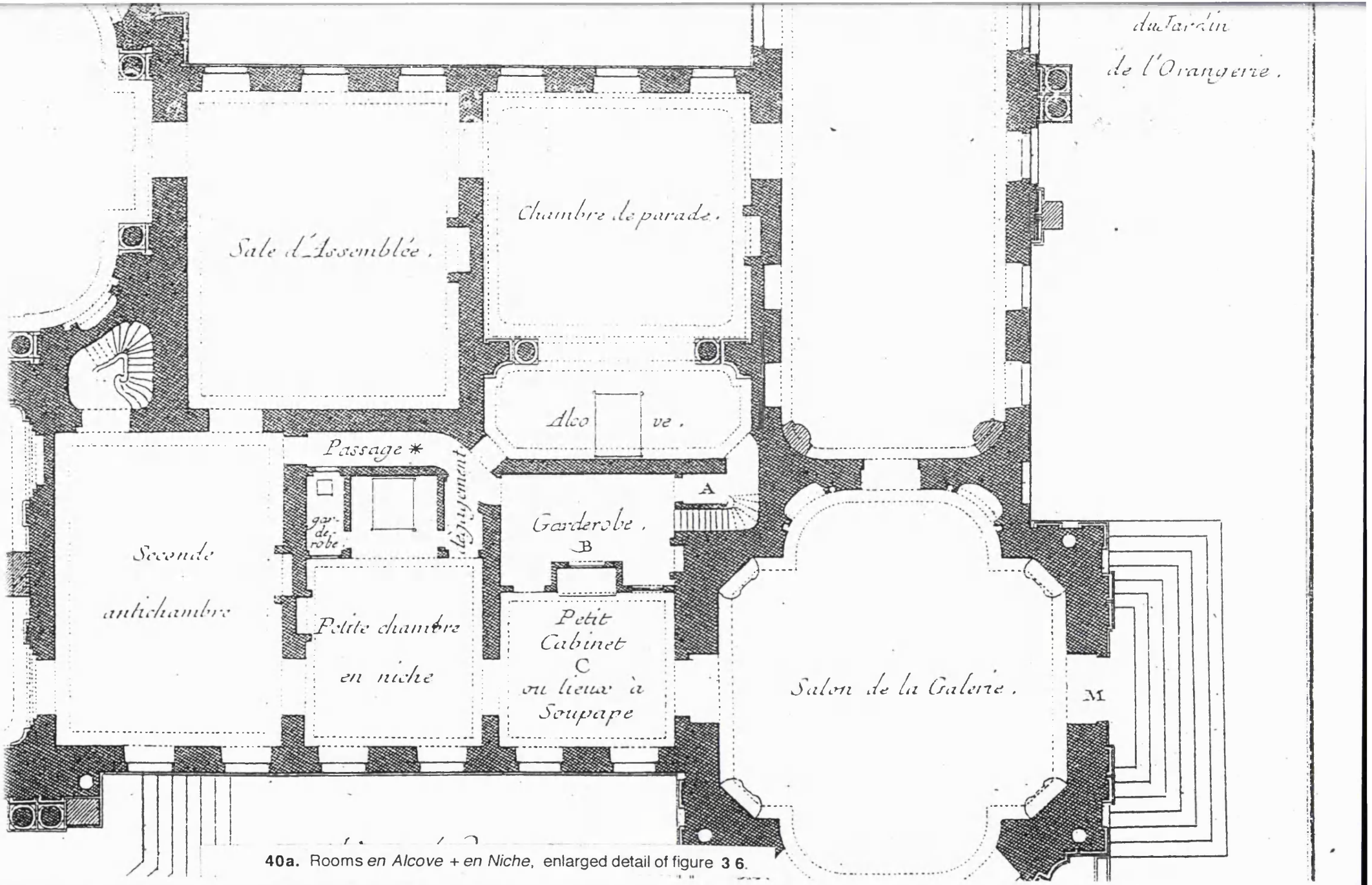
37. First floor plan, *Plan du premier Etage,* in *Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne* (1737-8) Blondel, J-F.



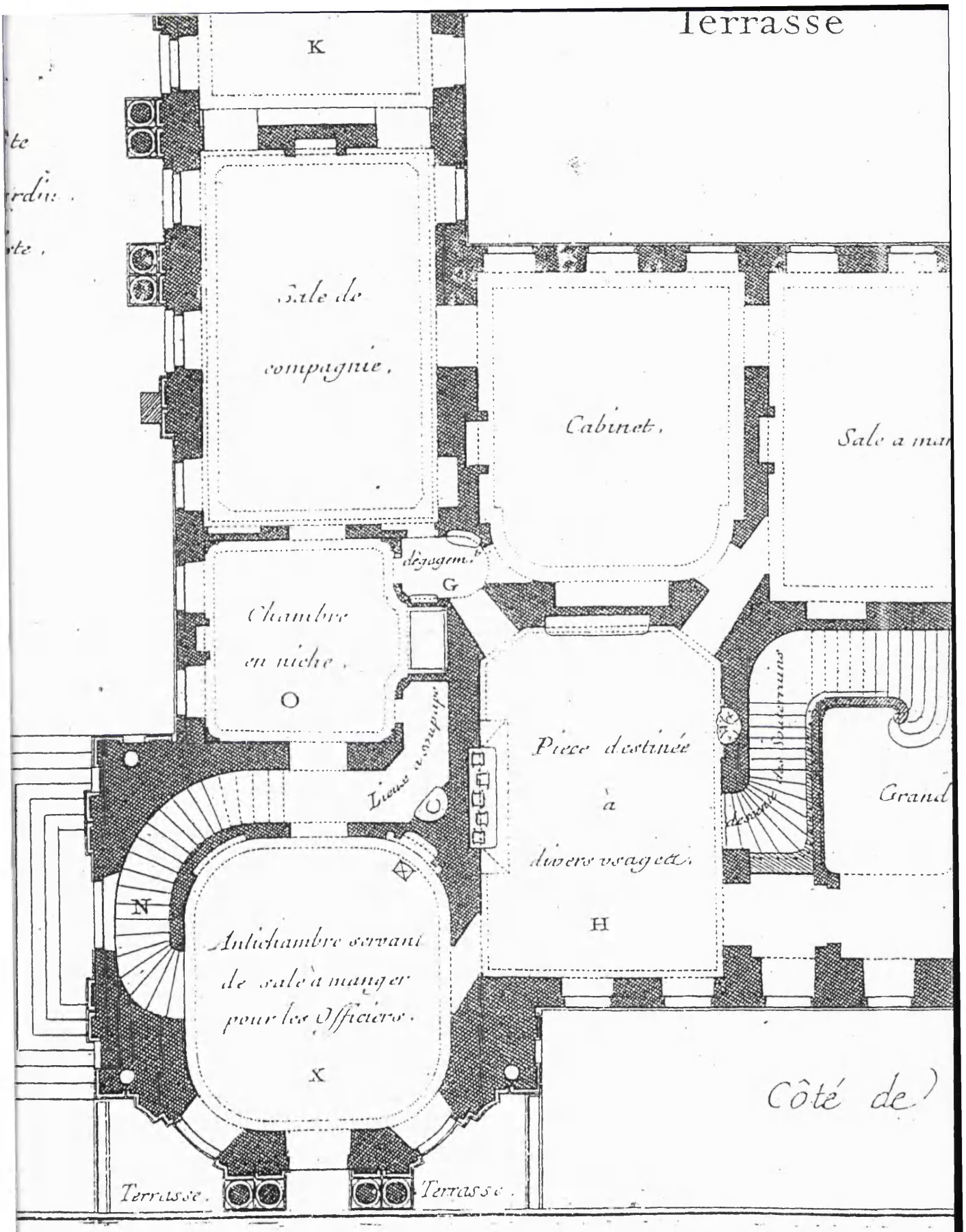
38. First floor plan, *Plan du Premier ou Bel Etage*, in *Cours d'architecture* (1691). D'Aviler.



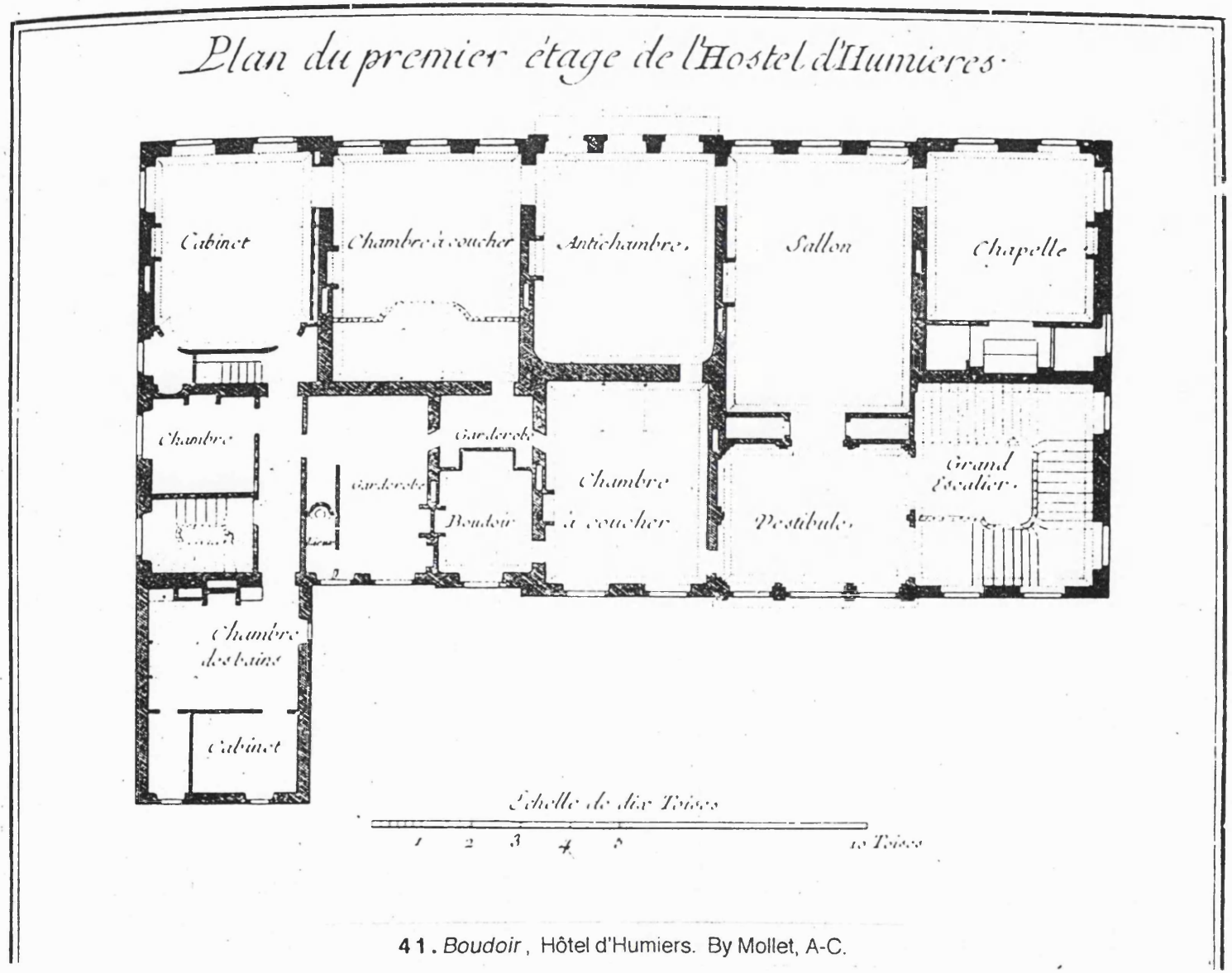
39. Room *en Alcove*, enlarged detail of figure 38.



40a. Rooms *en Alcove* + *en Niche*, enlarged detail of figure **3 6**.

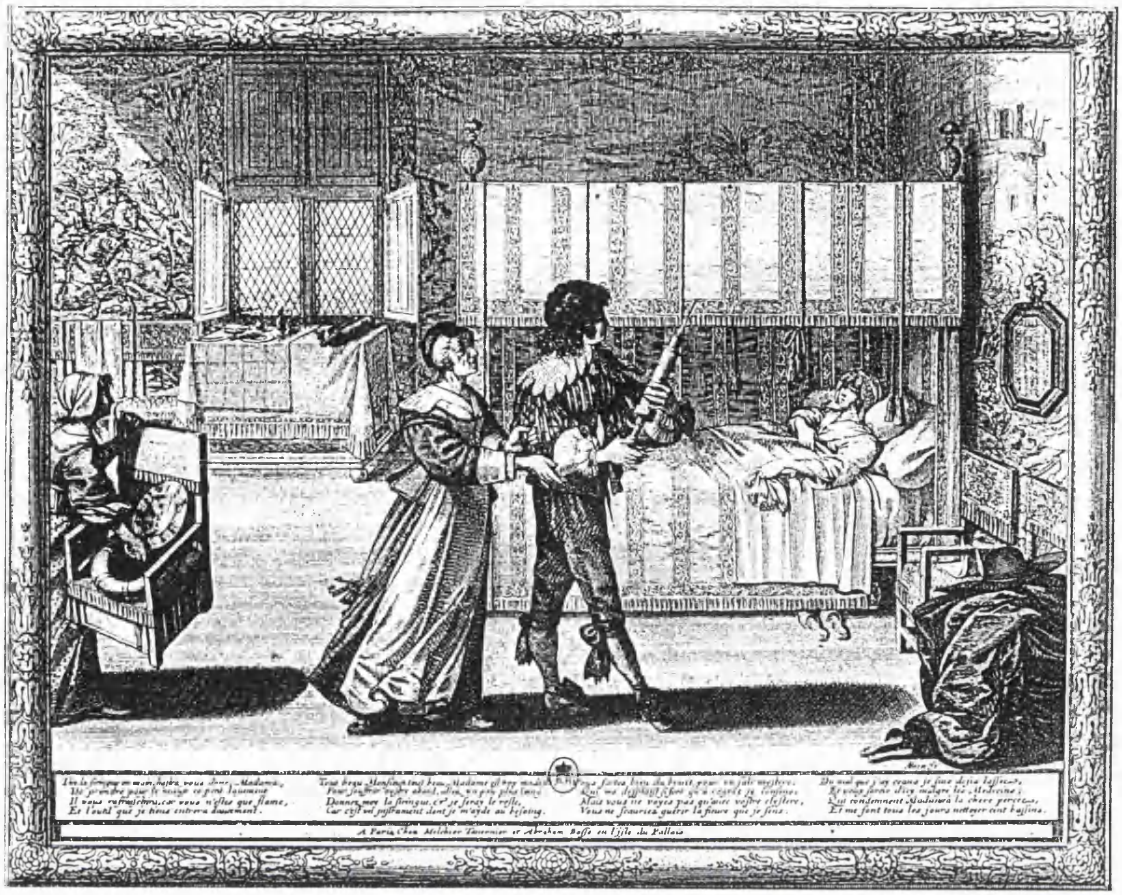


4 0b. Room *en Niche*, enlarged detail of figure **3 6**.



41. *Boudoir*, Hôtel d'Humiers. By Mollet, A-C.

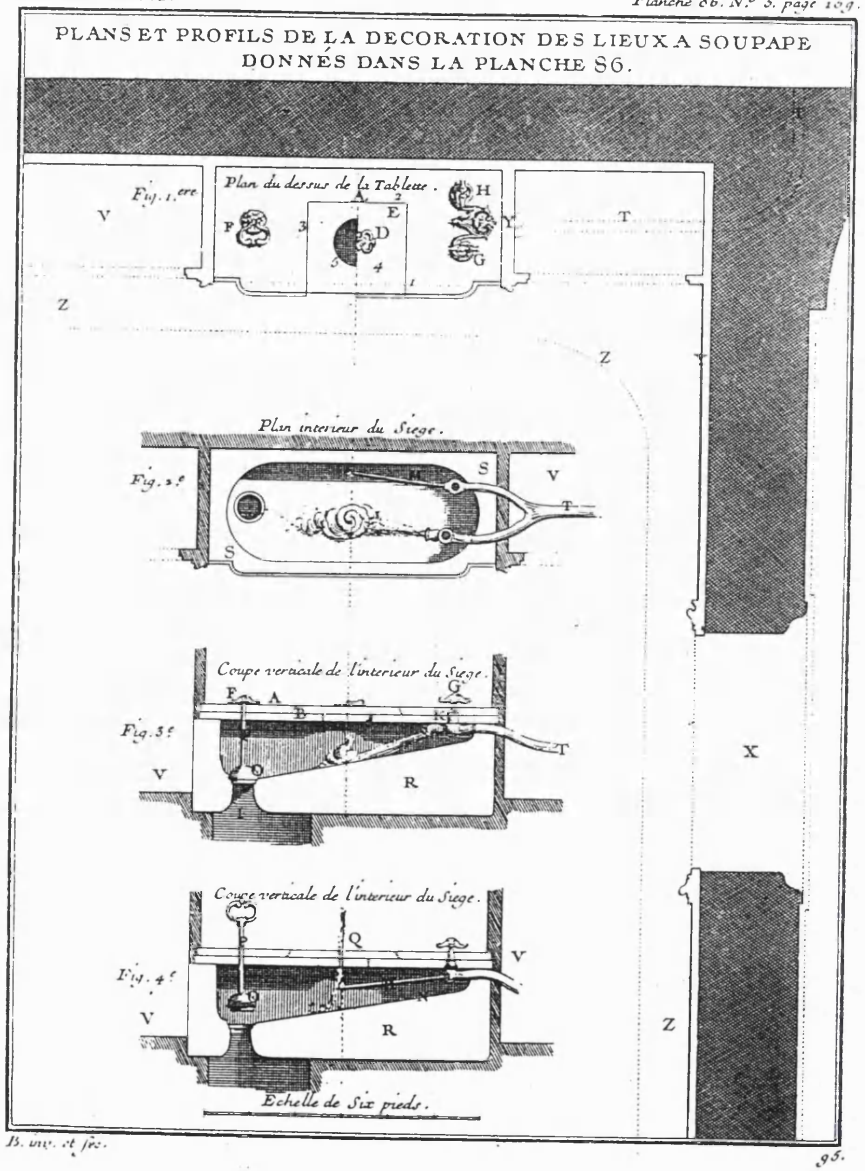
42. *Chaise percée.*



a. *Le Clystère* by A. Bosse.

b. at Vaux-le-Vicomte.

PLANS ET PROFILS DE LA DECORATION DES LIEUX A SOUPAPE DONNÉS DANS LA PLANCHE 86.



B. inv. et fec. 95.

Explication des termes de la Planche 86, N°. 3.

A. *Deſſus de la tablette de marbre qui couvre la cuvette.*

B. *Double tablette ſur laquelle eſt pratiquée la lunette.*

C. *Lunette qui ſe couvre au moyen de la partie de tablette marquée 1, 2 & 3, qui ſe leve & s'abaiſſe ainſi qu'on en voit la moitié baiſſée en 4 & l'autre moitié ouverte en 5.*

D. *Anneaux ou mains qui aident à lever la partie du lambris 1, 2 & 3, laquelle ſe fait de menuiſerie pour plus de legereté, & qui ſe peint en marbre lorſque la tablette A en eſt conſtruite, ce qui fait que le plus ſouvent ces banquettes, ainſi que le deſſus de ces tablettes ſe font de marqueterie afin que ces parties de tablettes ne ſoient pas défigurables & qu'elles s'encaſtrent de maniere à ne point laiſſer voir de joint.*

E. *Charniere qui attache cette partie 1, 2 & 3 à la tablette, ou lorſque l'on s'en veut paſſer on entaille les joints en chanfrein, comme on le voit par la coupe de cette tablette A Figure 3e.*

F. *Main qui leve la bonde ou maſſe de plomb enfermée dans la cuvette, comme on la voit baiſſée dans la 3e. Figure, & levée dans la 4e.*

G. *Olive ou bouton monté ſur ſa platine & qui ouvre le robinet K, Figure 3e.*

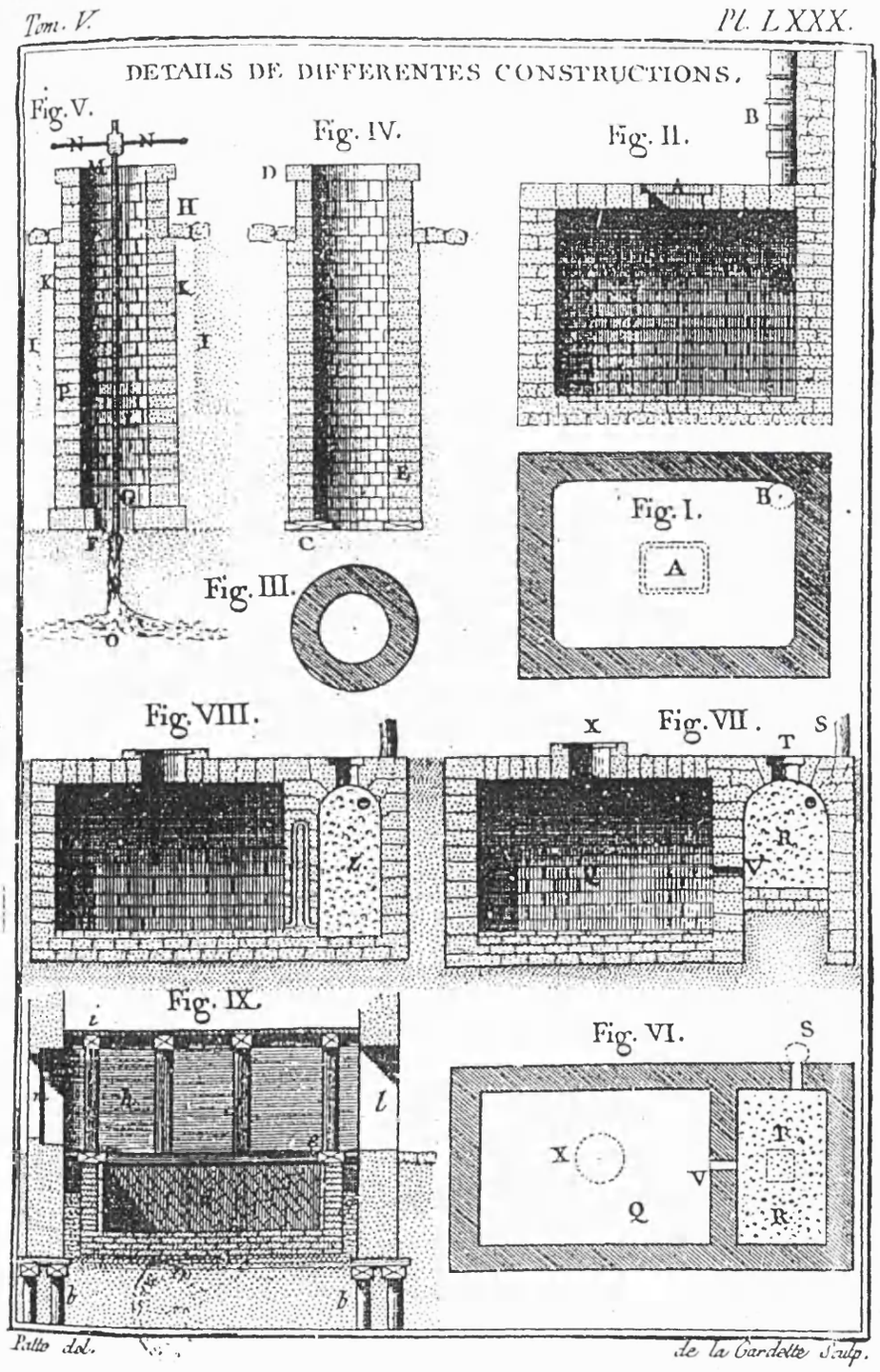
H. *Olive ou bouton qui fait mouvoir le flageollet & qui l'amenne au centre de la lunette quand on en a beſoin.*

I. *Embouchure de la chauſſe d'aiſance fermée par la bonde ou maſſe de plomb Figure 3e.*

K. *Robinet, qui lorſqu'il eſt ouvert par le bouton G, chaſſe avec rapidité la matiere tombée par la lunette C dans la cuvette.*

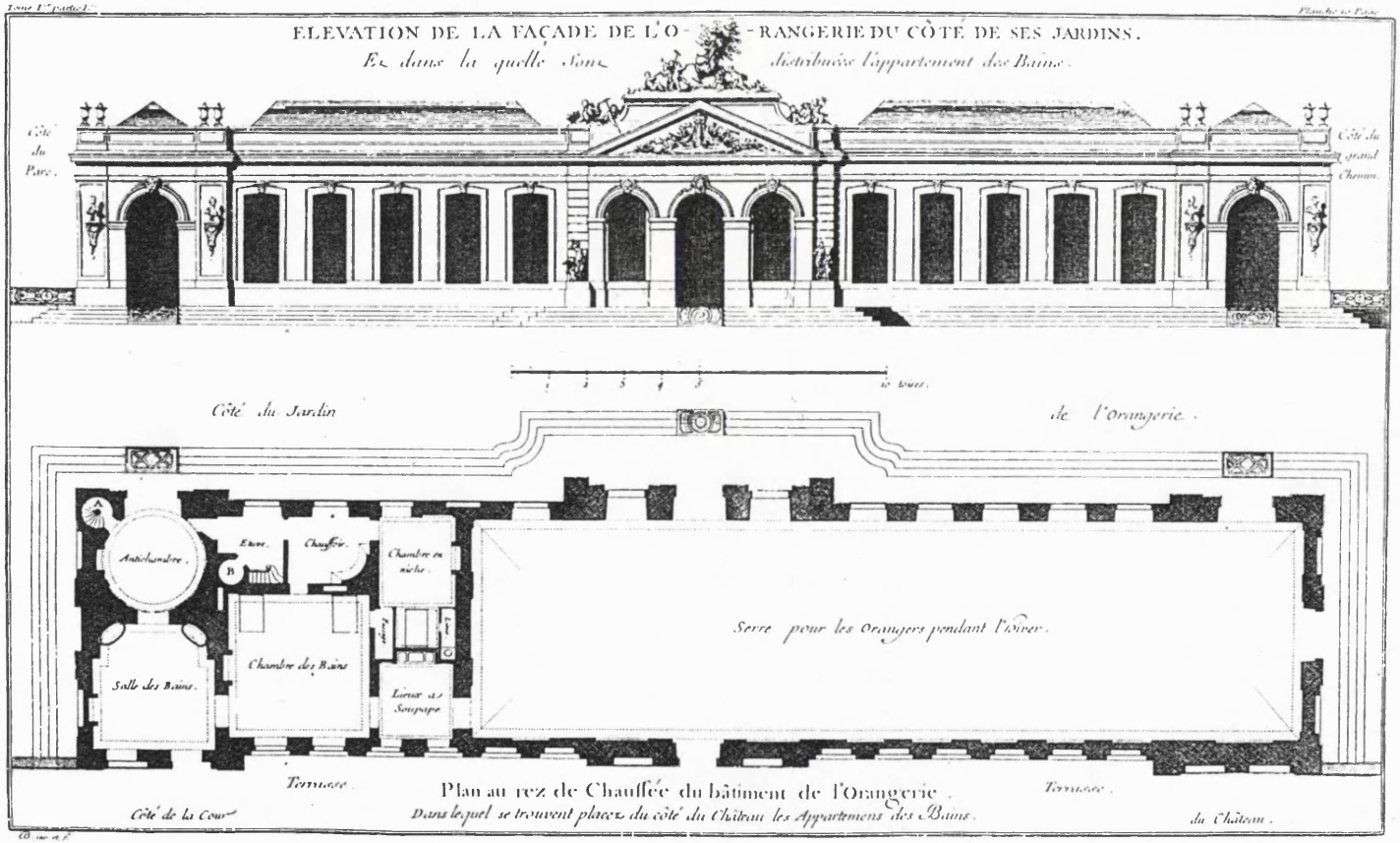
L. *Jonction ou nœud qui fait mouvoir le flageollet ou ajoutoir par le moyen du bouton H premiere Figure.*

43. Plumbed W.C. / bidet, *lieux a soupape,* in *Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne* (1737-8). Blondel, J-F.

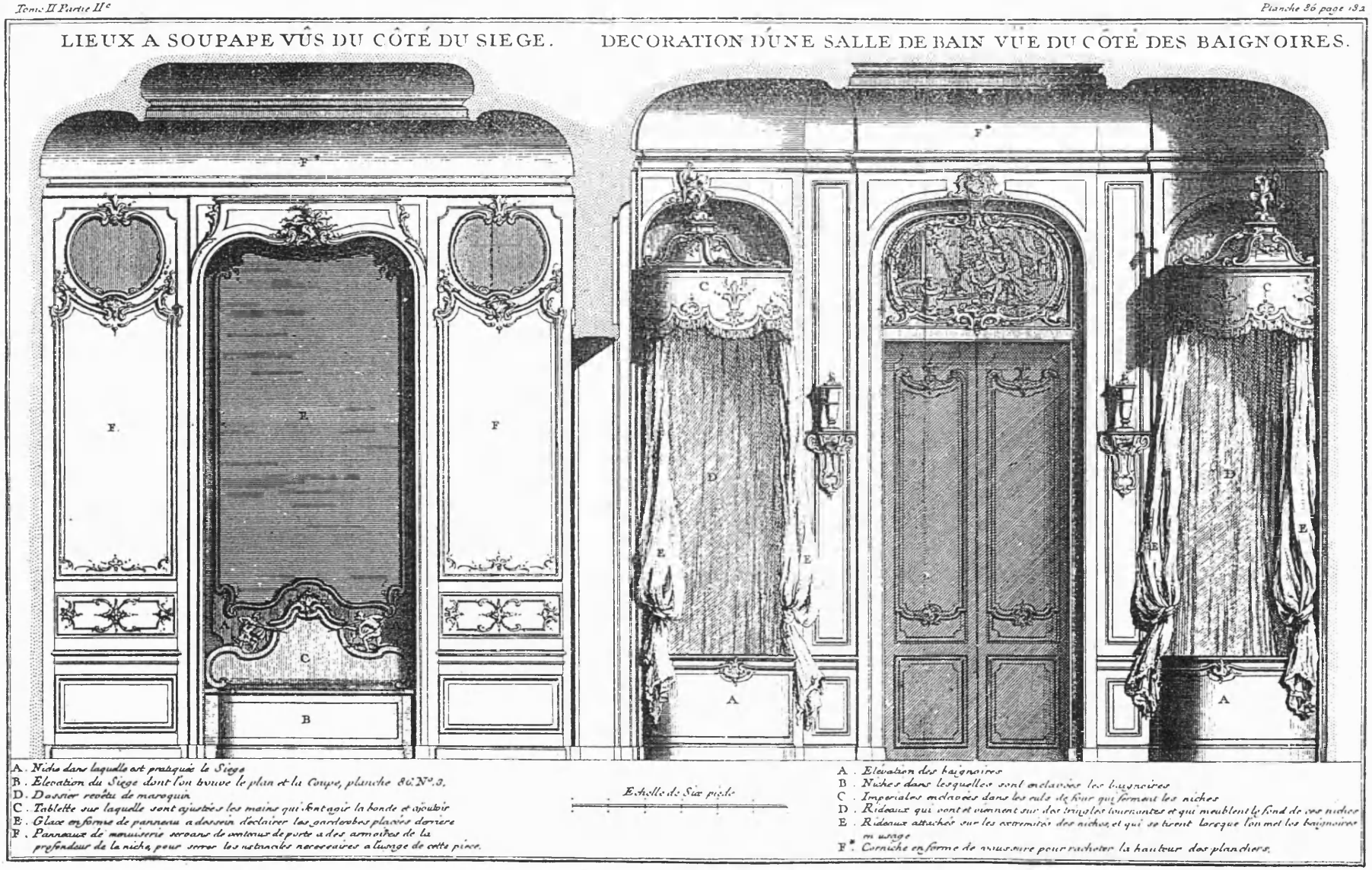


44. *Fosses d'Aissance*, in *Cours d'architecture* (1771-7) Vol. V

Figures I and II. Blondel, J-F.



45. *Appartement des Bains.* Plan and elevation. *Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne* (1737-8). Blondel, J-F.



46. Bathroom elevation. *Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne* (1737-8). Blondel, J-F.

Explication des termes de la Planche 86, N°. 2.

A. *Plan des Baignoires.*

B. *Fourneaux pratiqués dans une piece voiſine, laquelle ſert à entretenir l'eau chaude de la chaudiere C qui eſt au-deſſus & qui la communique dans la baignoire A par le tuyau D.*

C. *Chaudiere ou reſervoir d'eau chaude élevée au-deſſus du fourneau B d'environ quatre pieds, laquelle contient toute la grandeur du fourneau & dont on ne voit ici que la moitié.*

D. *Tuyaux branchés qui amenent l'eau chaude de la chaudiere C dans les baignoires AA.*

E. *Tuyau amené d'un reſervoir étranger qui fournit l'eau froide au reſervoir F, à la chaudiere C, & aux baignoires AA, & qui ſe prolonge juſqu'au ſiege des lieux à ſoupape marqués T dans la Planche ſuivante.*

F. *Reſervoir d'eau froide.*

G. *Branchage qui fournit de l'eau fraîche à la cuvette ou coquille.*

H. *Partie du tuyau qui conduit l'eau froide à la baignoire placée de l'autre côté de la piece, ainſi qu'il ſe voit dans le plan au-deſſous, Figure premiere.*

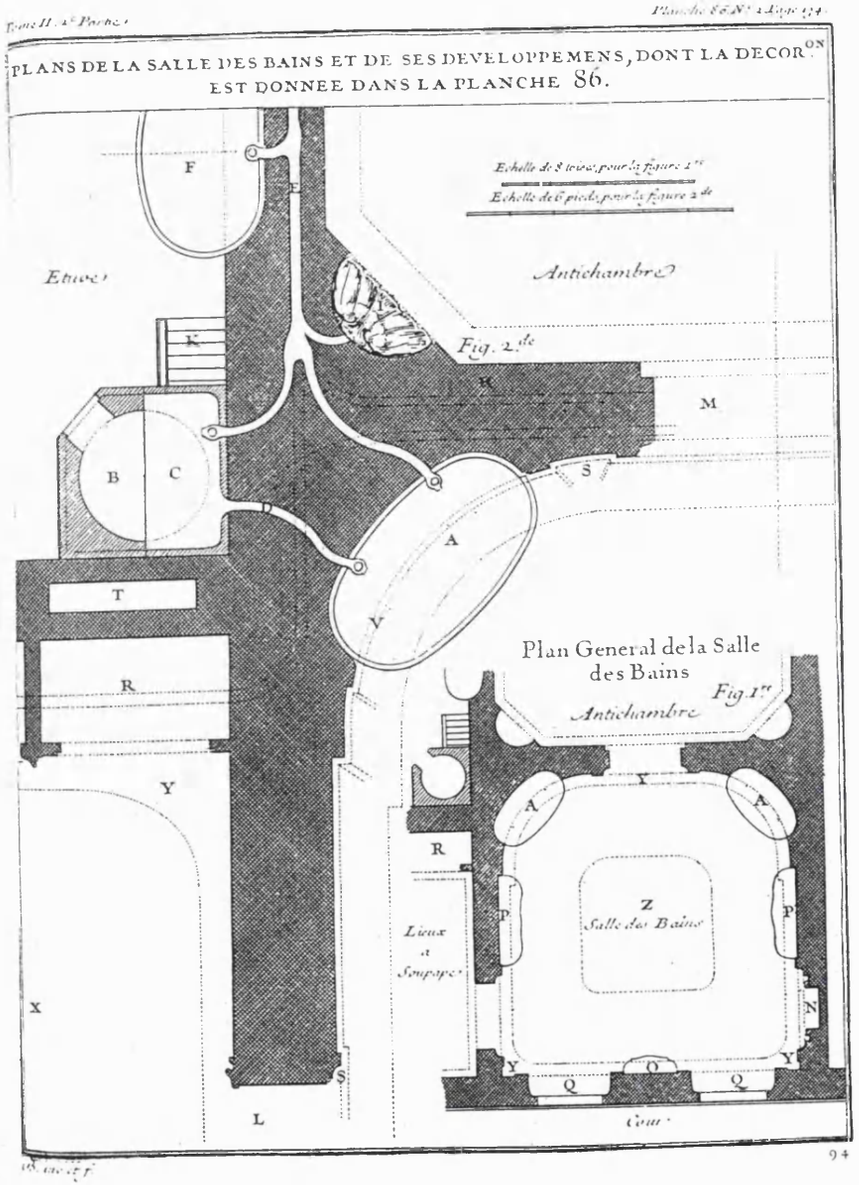
I. *Cuvette ou coquille pour ſe laver les mains.*

K. *Degré qui conduit au reſervoir d'eau chaude qui eſt élevé deſſus le fourneau B.*

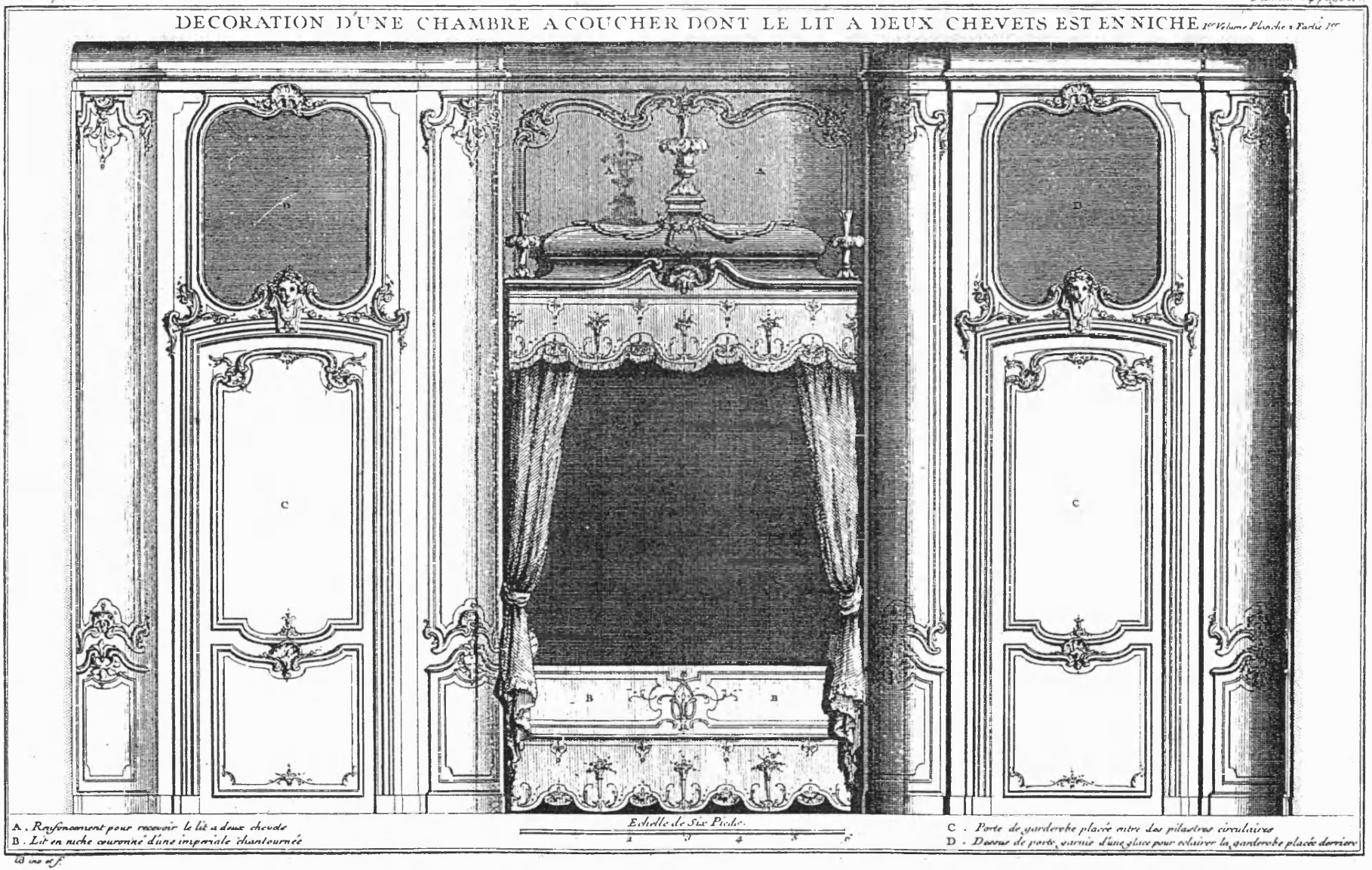
L. *Porte faiſant ſymétrie à celle M, & à l'arcade vis-à-vis où eſt placée la cheminée N, laquelle termine l'enfilade de l'appartement des Bains dont la chambre à coucher ſe trouve contigue aux lieux à ſoupape.*

M. *Porte qui donne entrée à cet appartement par l'Anti chambre.*

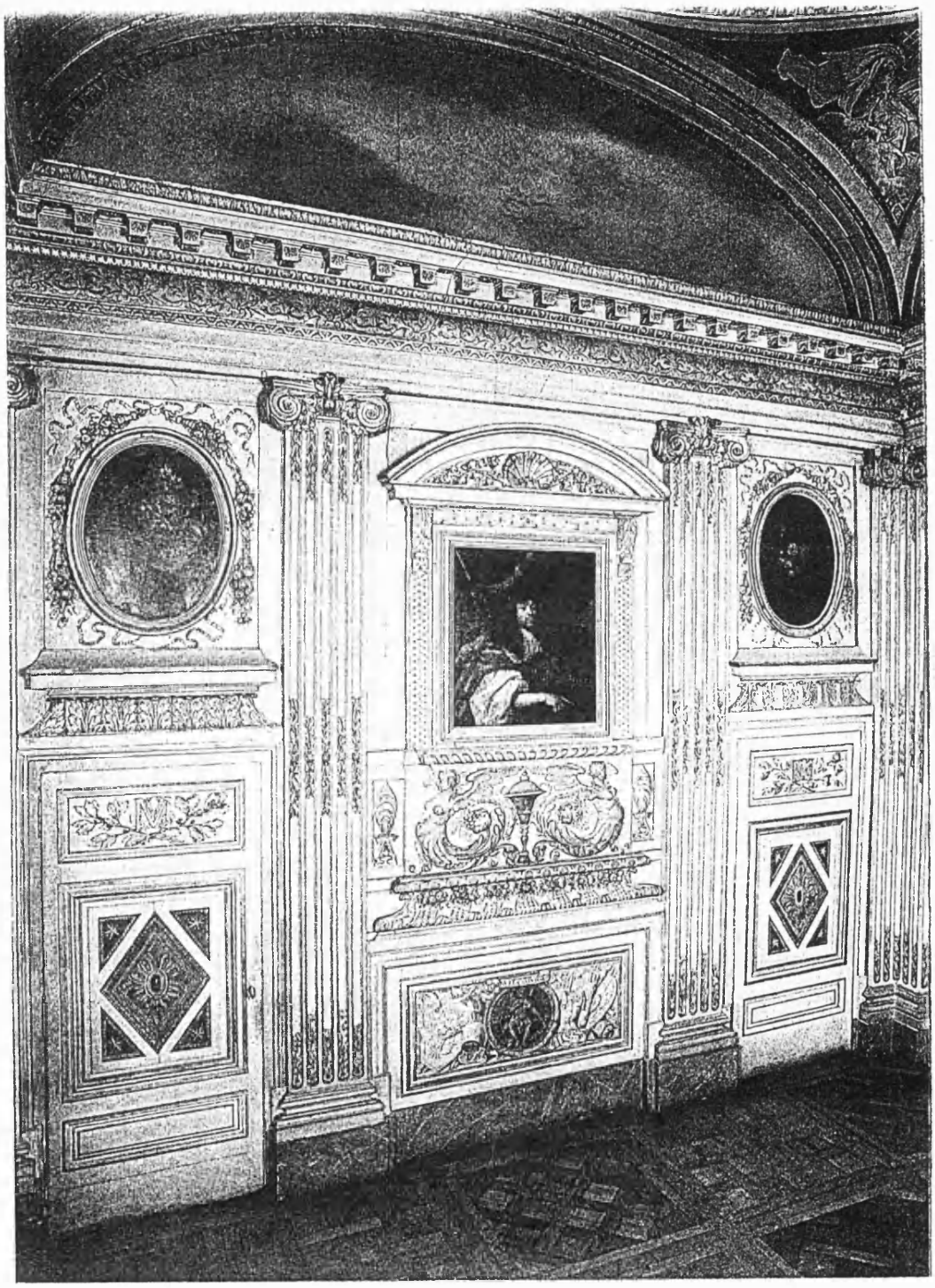
N. *Cheminée enfermée dans une arcade de méme forme que la*



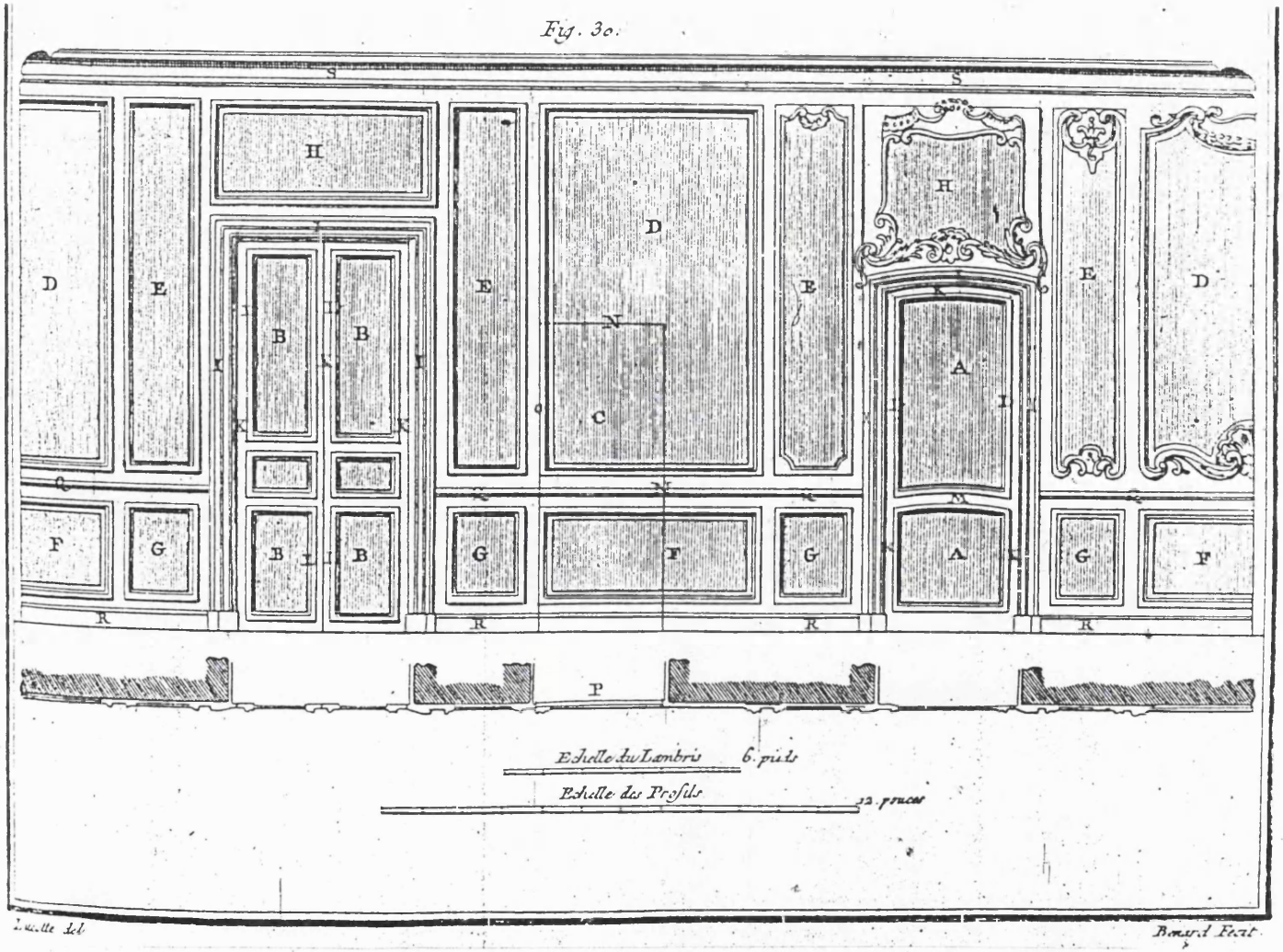
47. Bathroom plumbing. *Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne* (1737-8) Blondel, J-F.



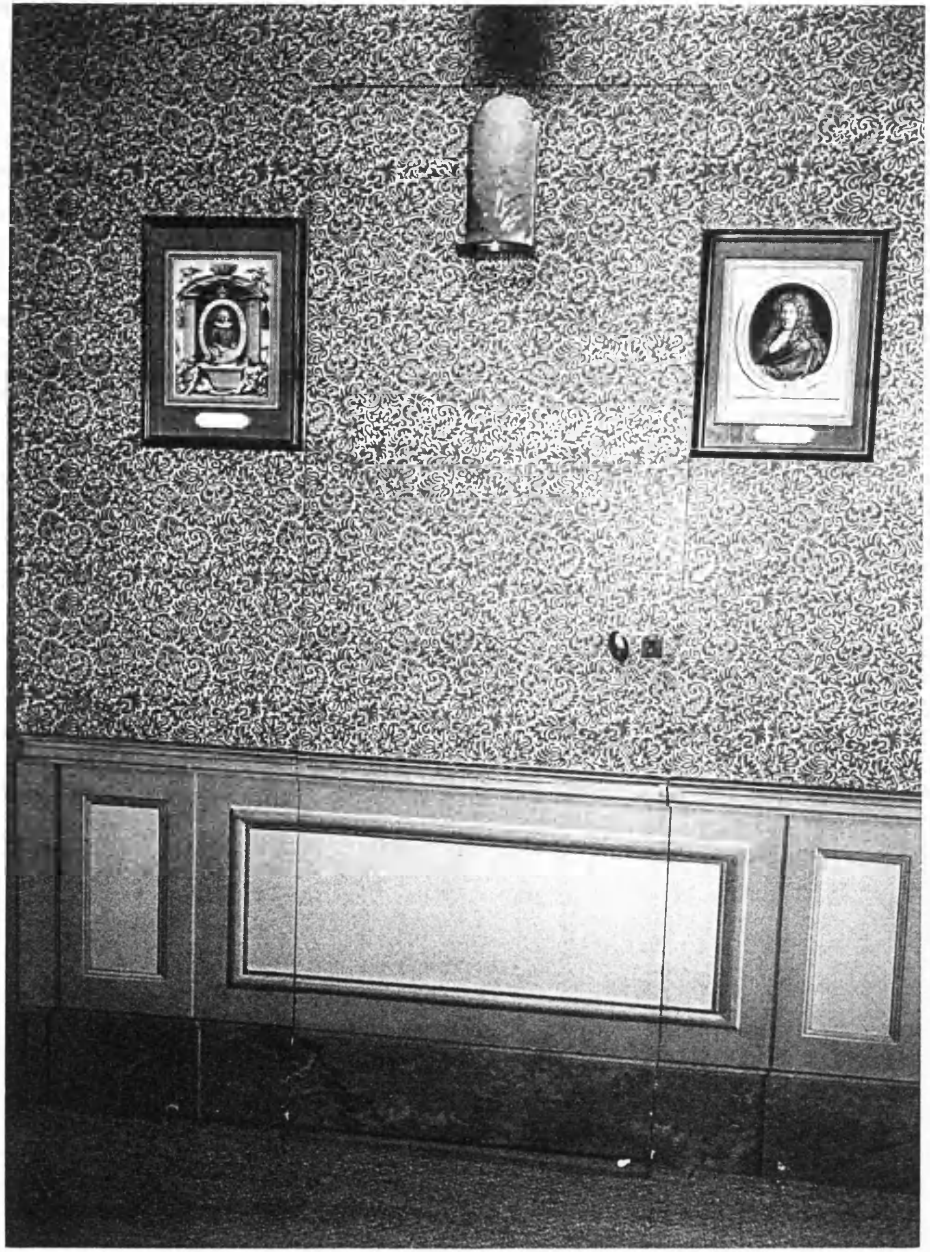
48. Small internal doors in small bedrooms. *Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne* (1737-8) Blondel, J-F.

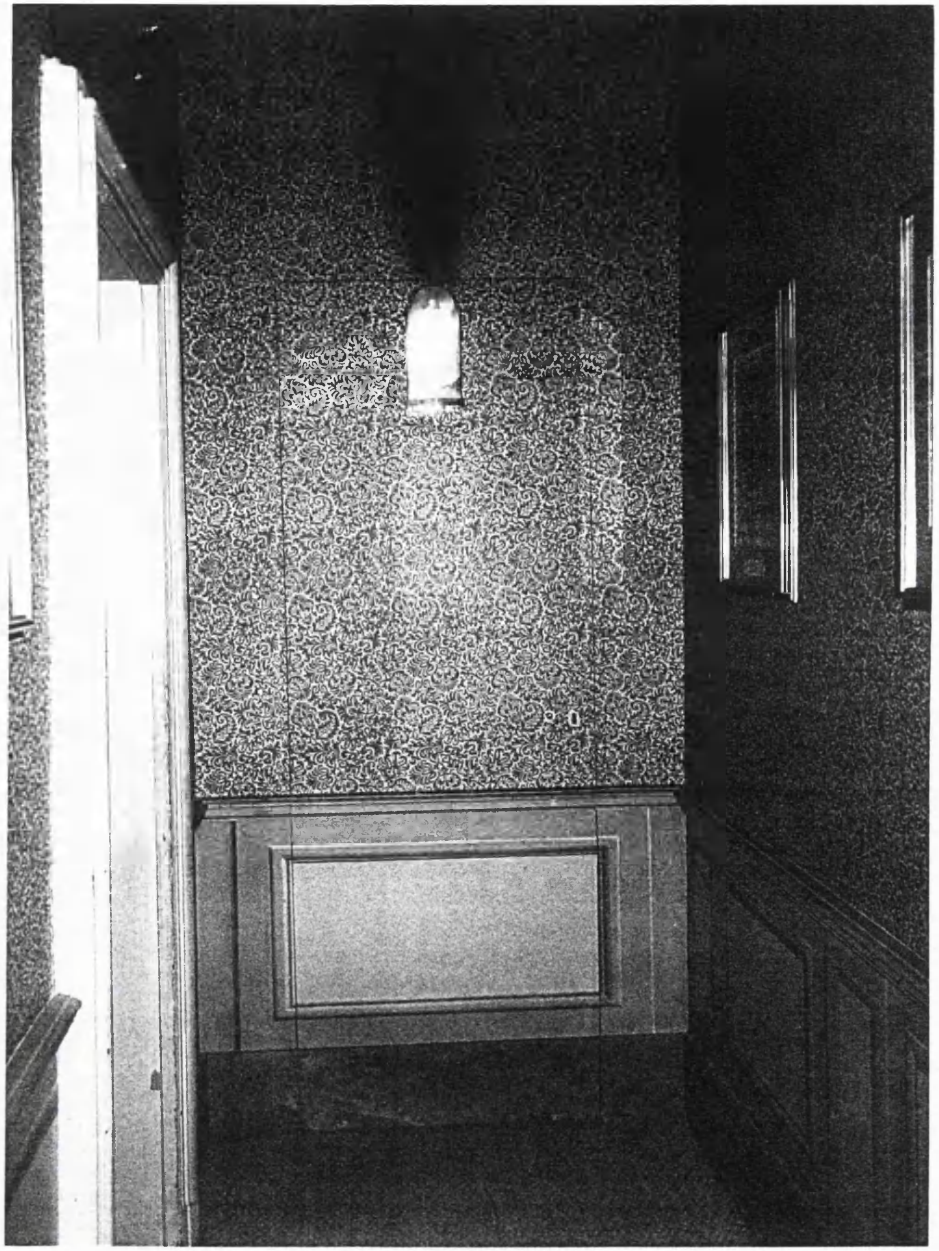


4 9. Small internal door to appear like a wall *compartiment*. Hôtel de Sully.

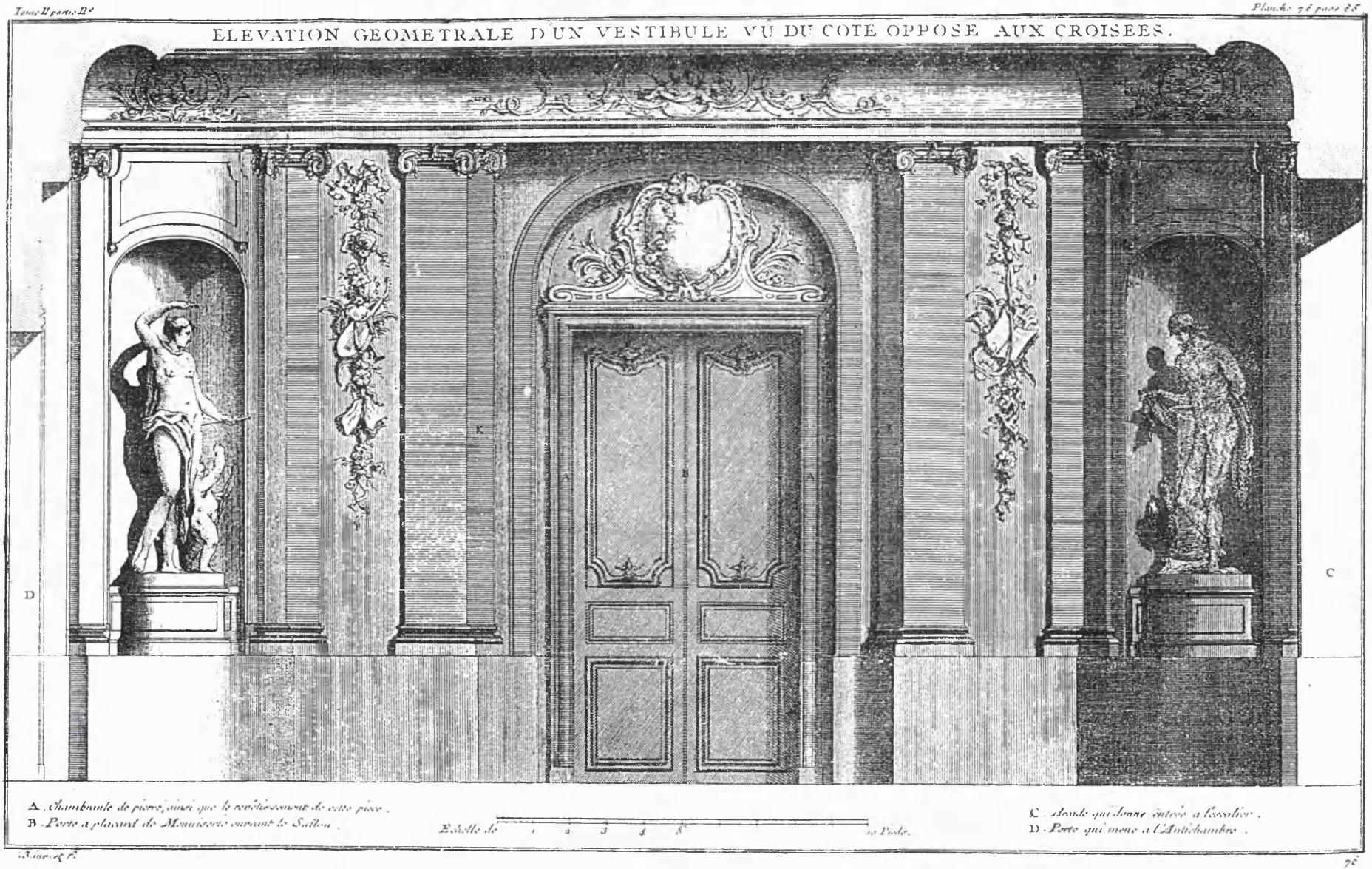


50a. Small internal door- not following *compartment* outline. *Encyclopédie* (1751-65).

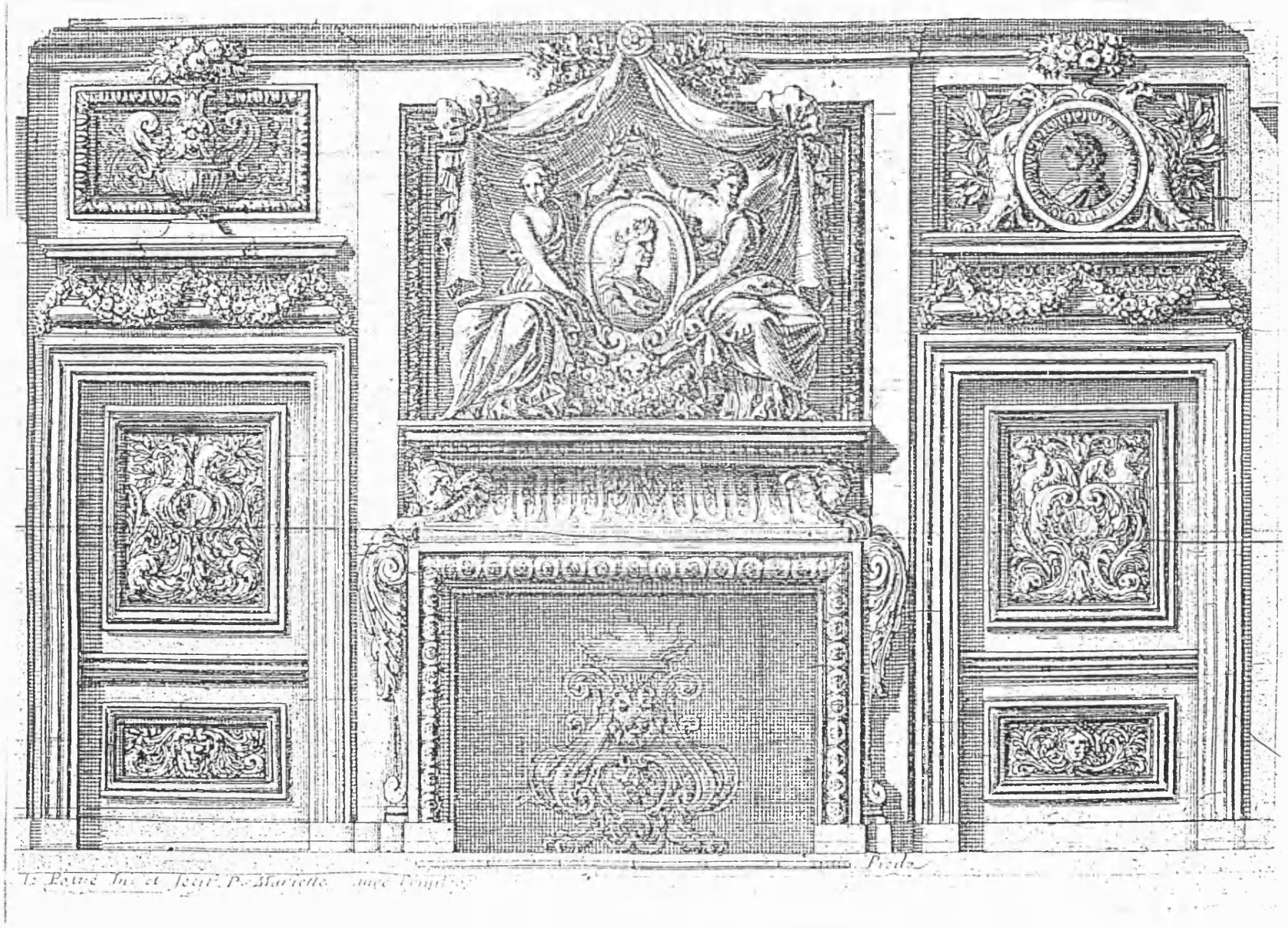




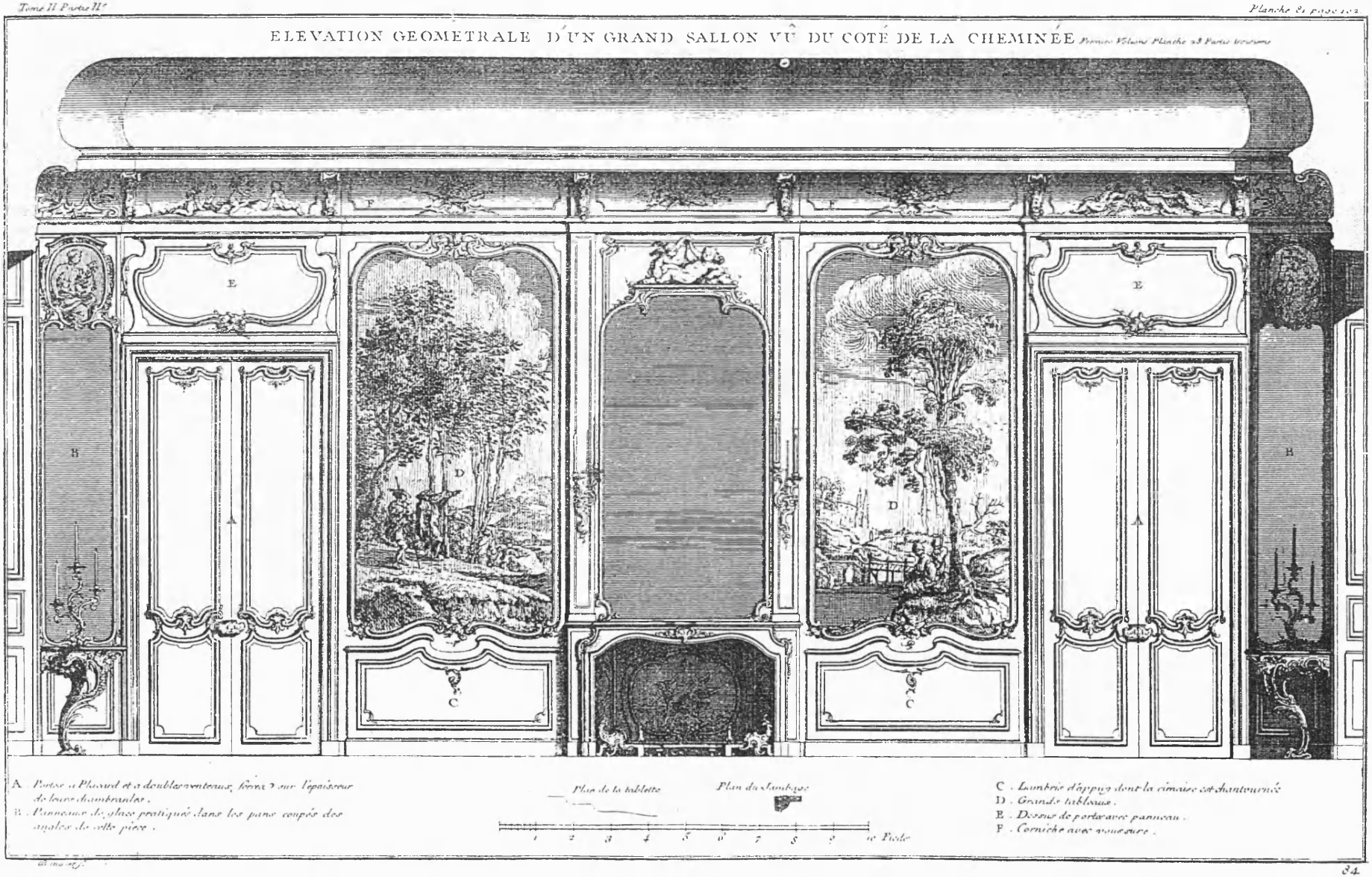
50b. Small internal door- not following *compartment* outline. Vaux-le-Vicomte.



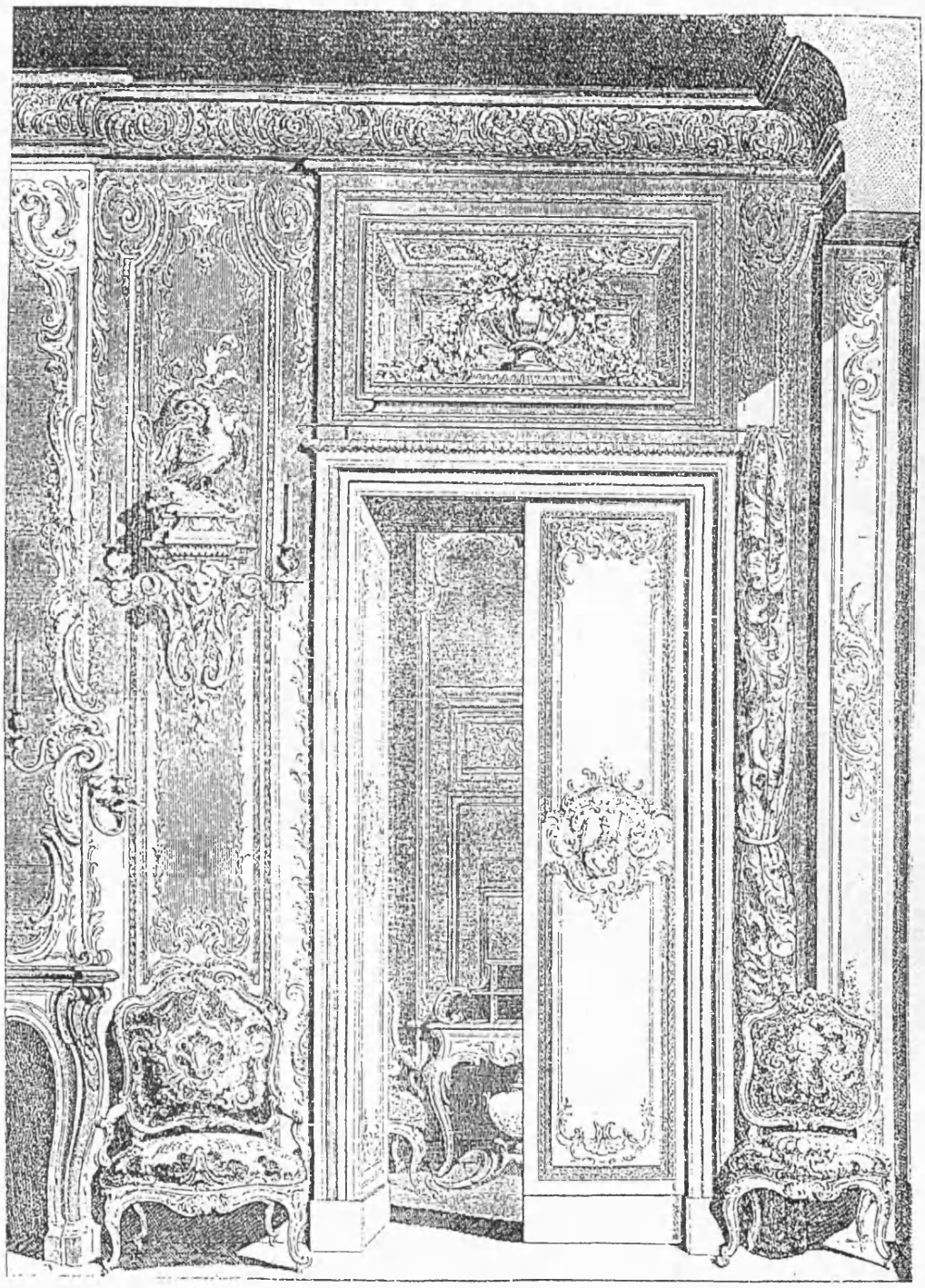
51. Door centred symmetrically in wall of Vestibule. *Traité d'architecture* (1737-8). Blondel, J-F.



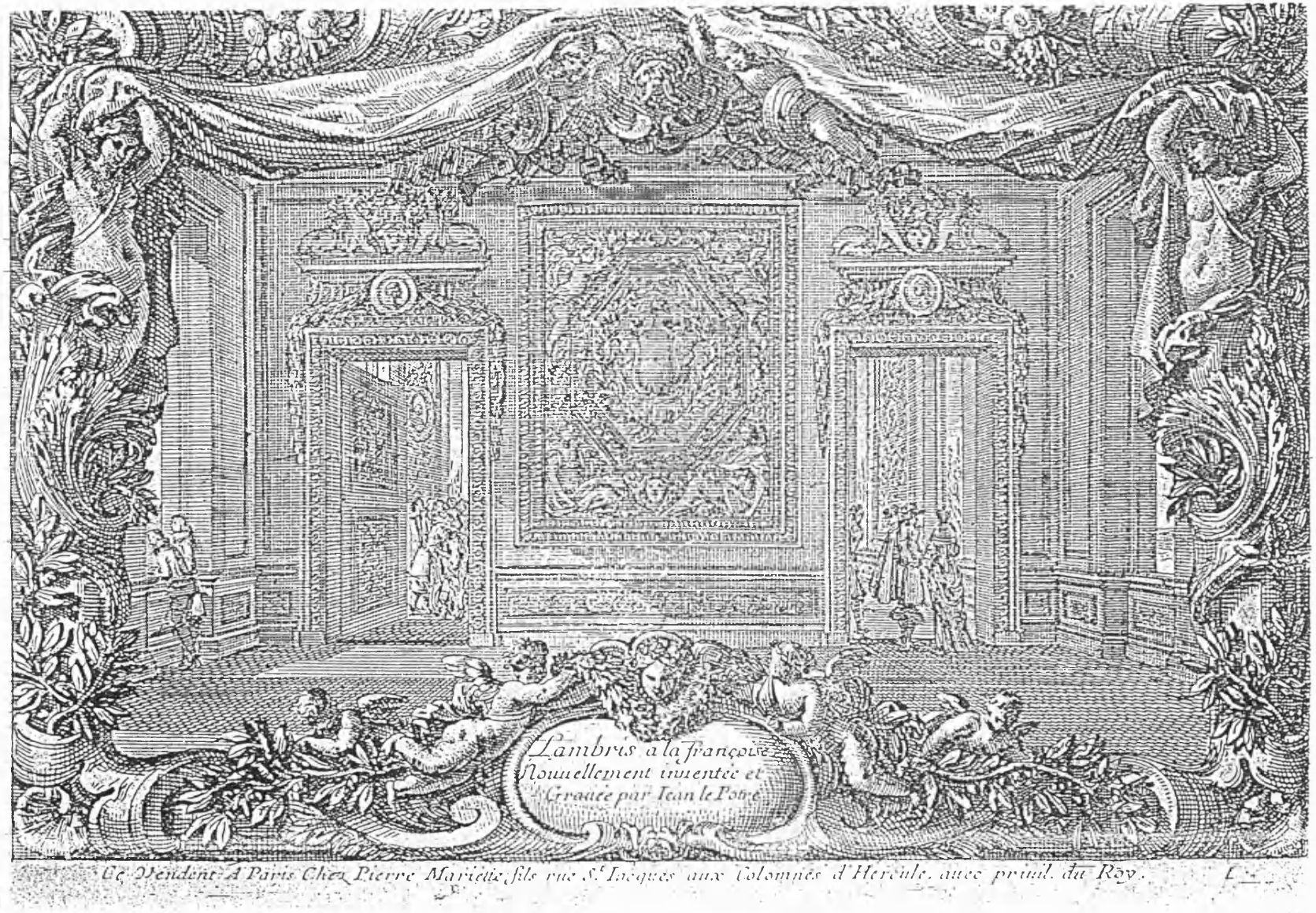
52. Doors placed symmetrically in end wall of main room — Single-leaved doors. Le Pautre, J. (1659-1685)



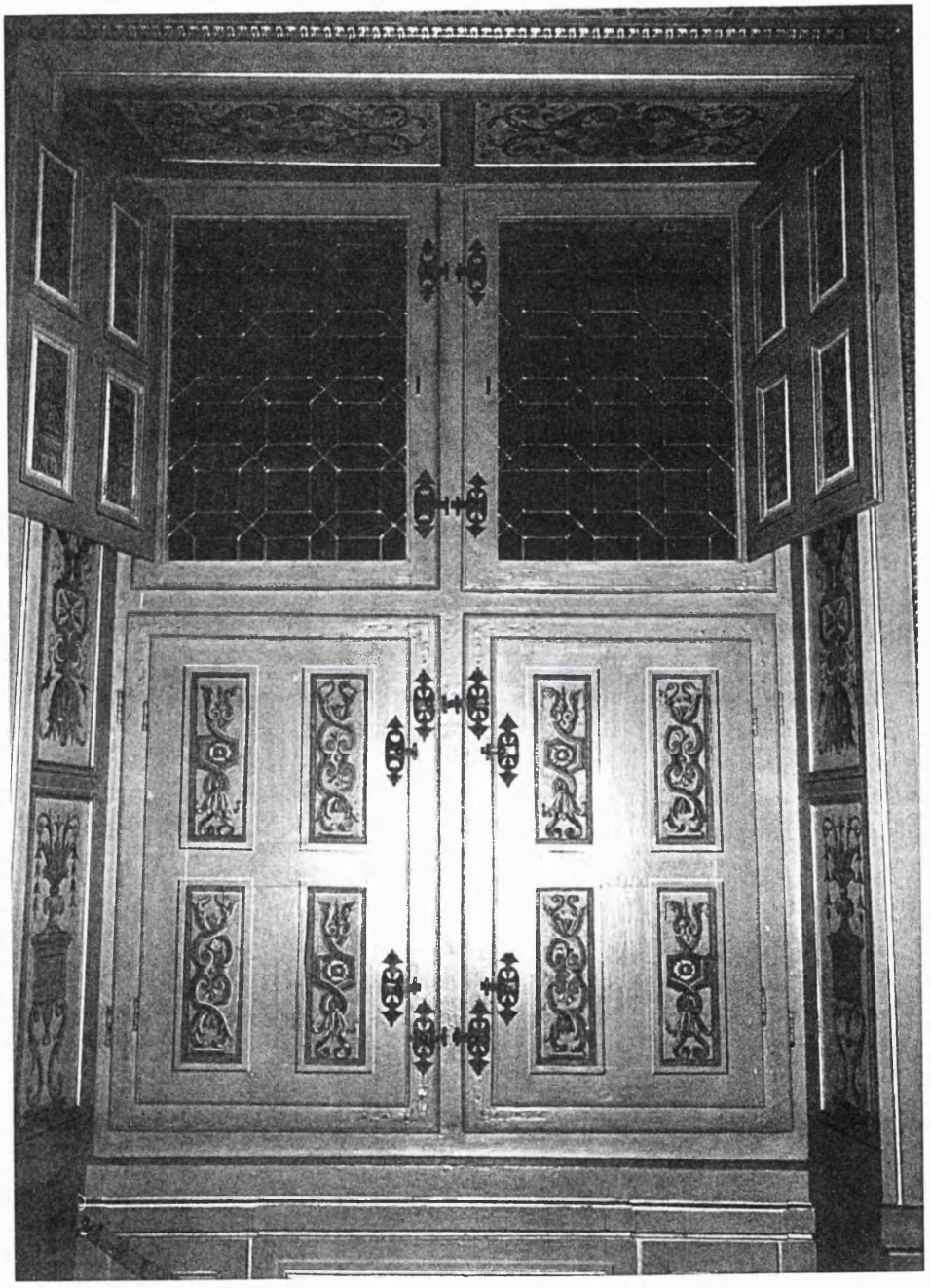
53. Doors placed symmetrically in end wall of main room — Two-leaved doors. *Traité*...(1737-8)F. Blondel J-F.



54. Large internal doors. Open, two-leaved. First half 18th cdntury. Meissonnier, J-A.

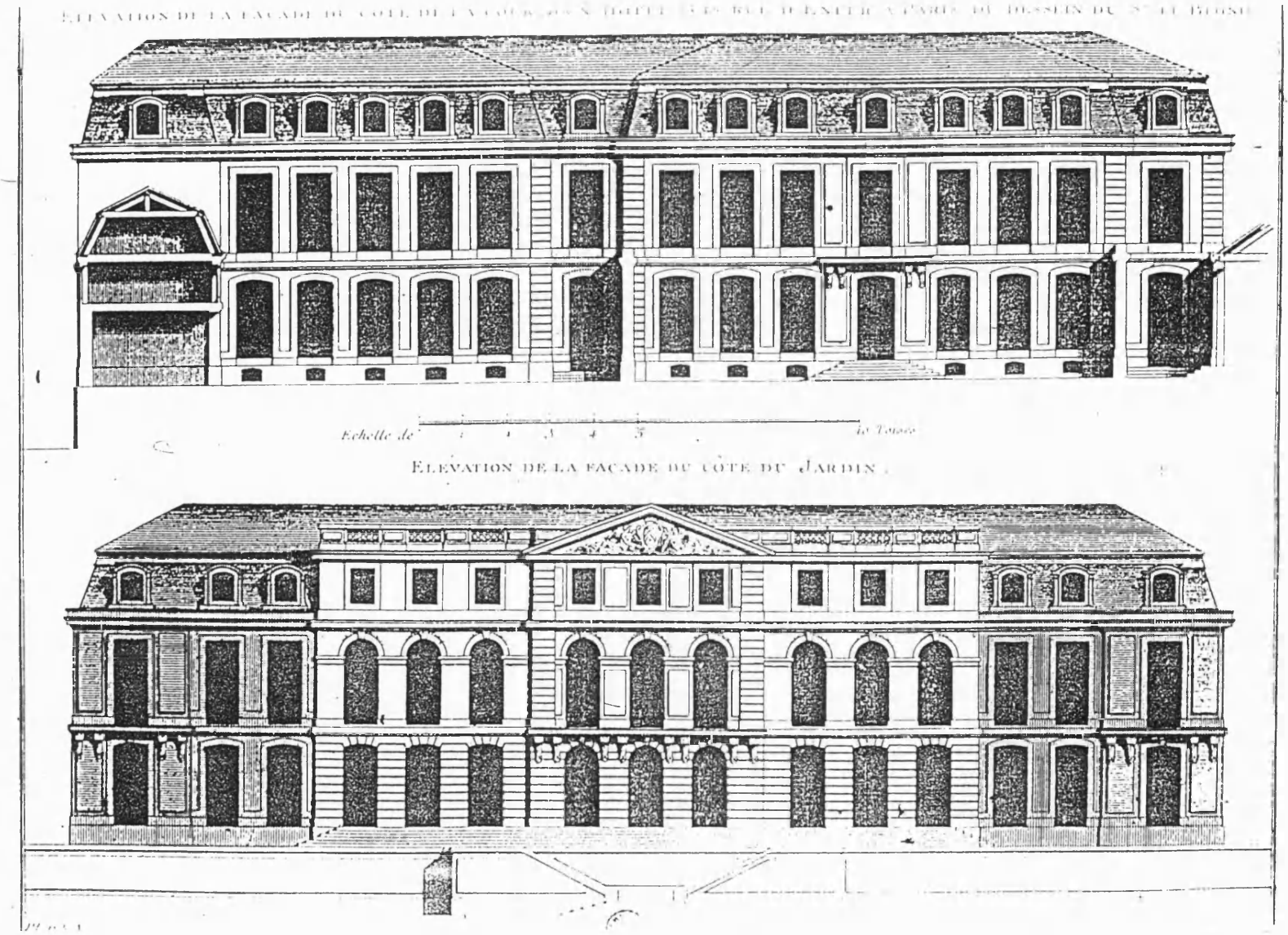


55. Large internal doors. Open, single-leaved. Le Pautre, J. (1659-85)

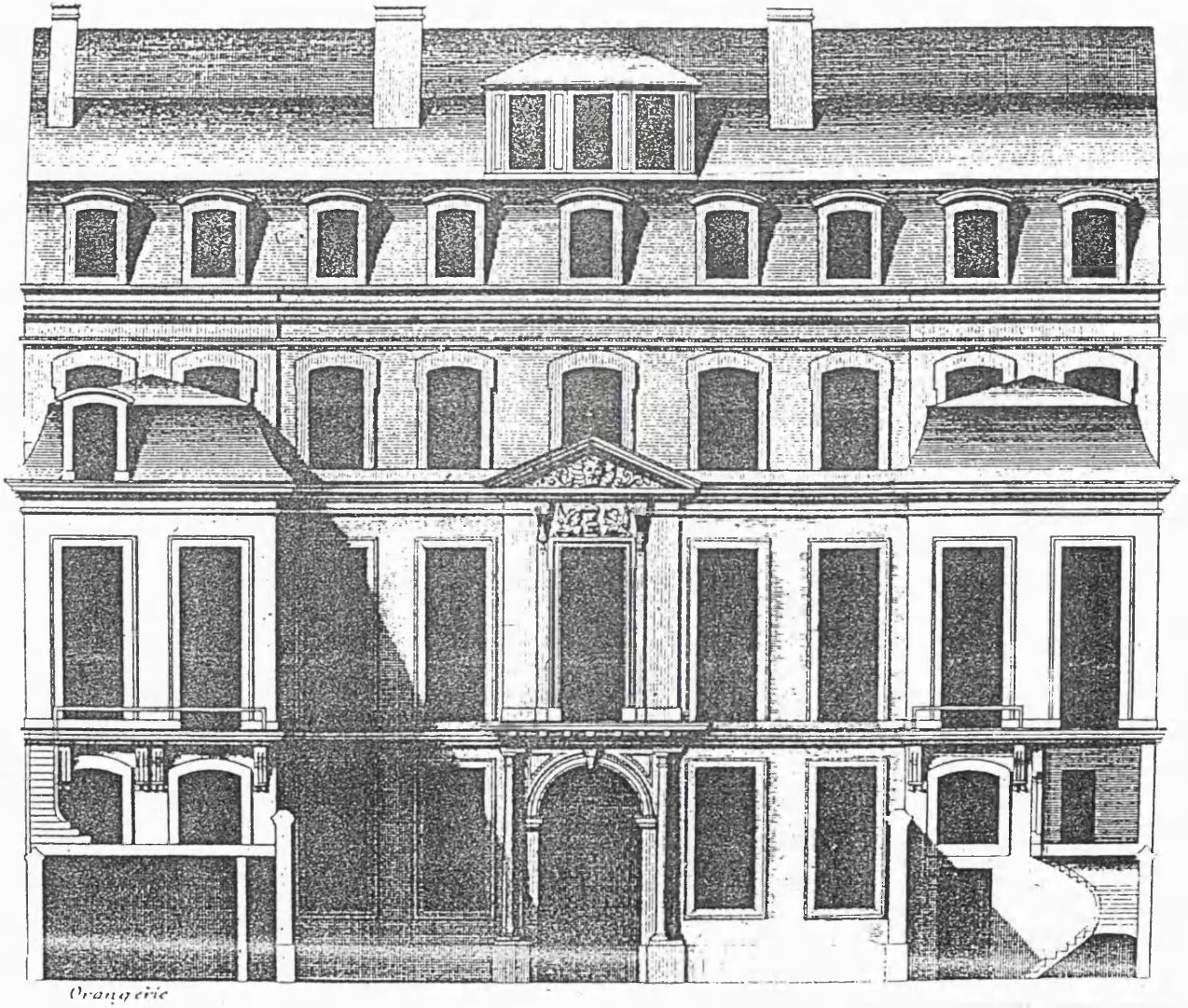


56. Cross window at Vaux-le-Vicomte (1656-60). Le Vau, L.

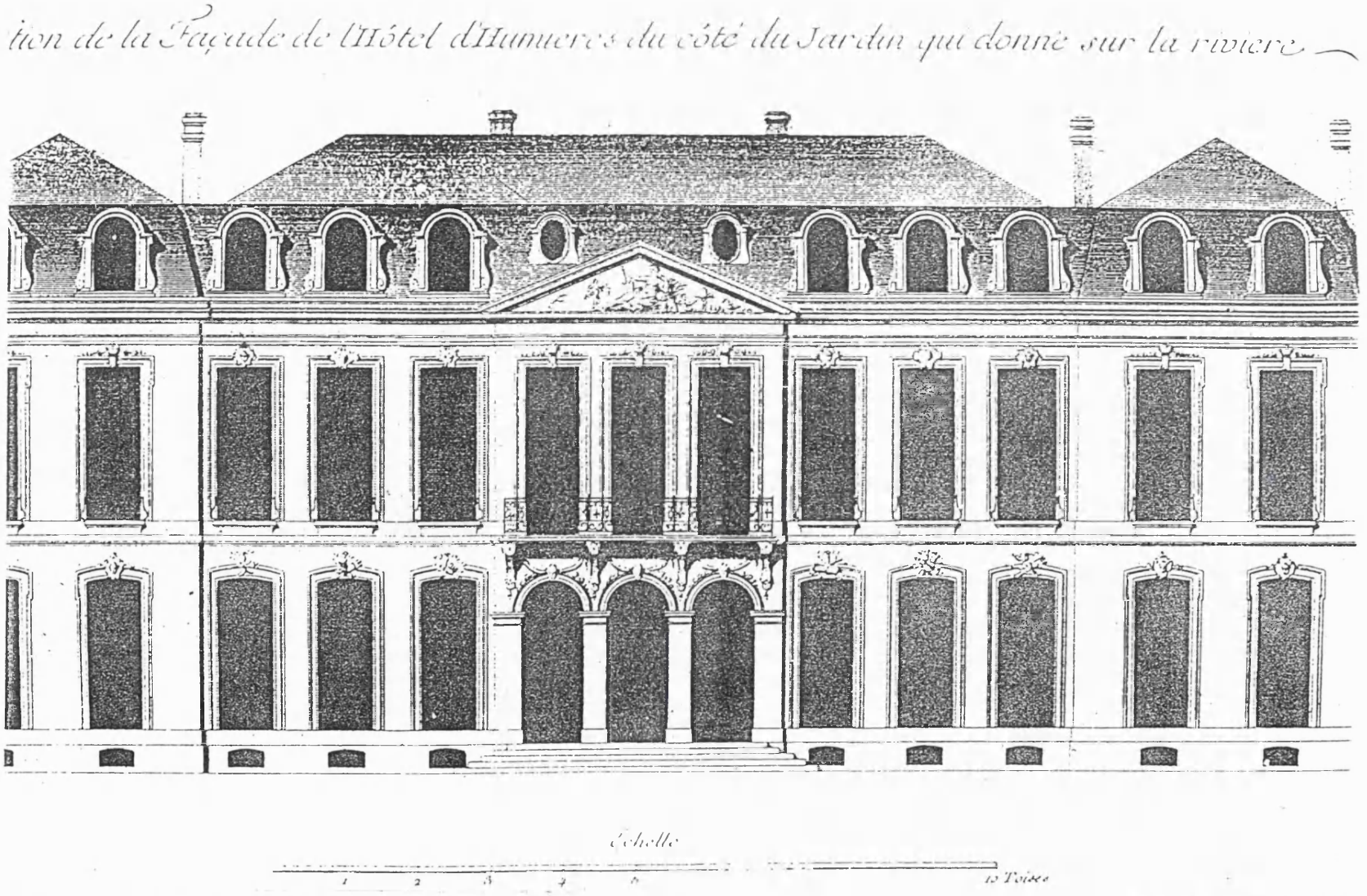
57. Window disposition in French *hôtels* :



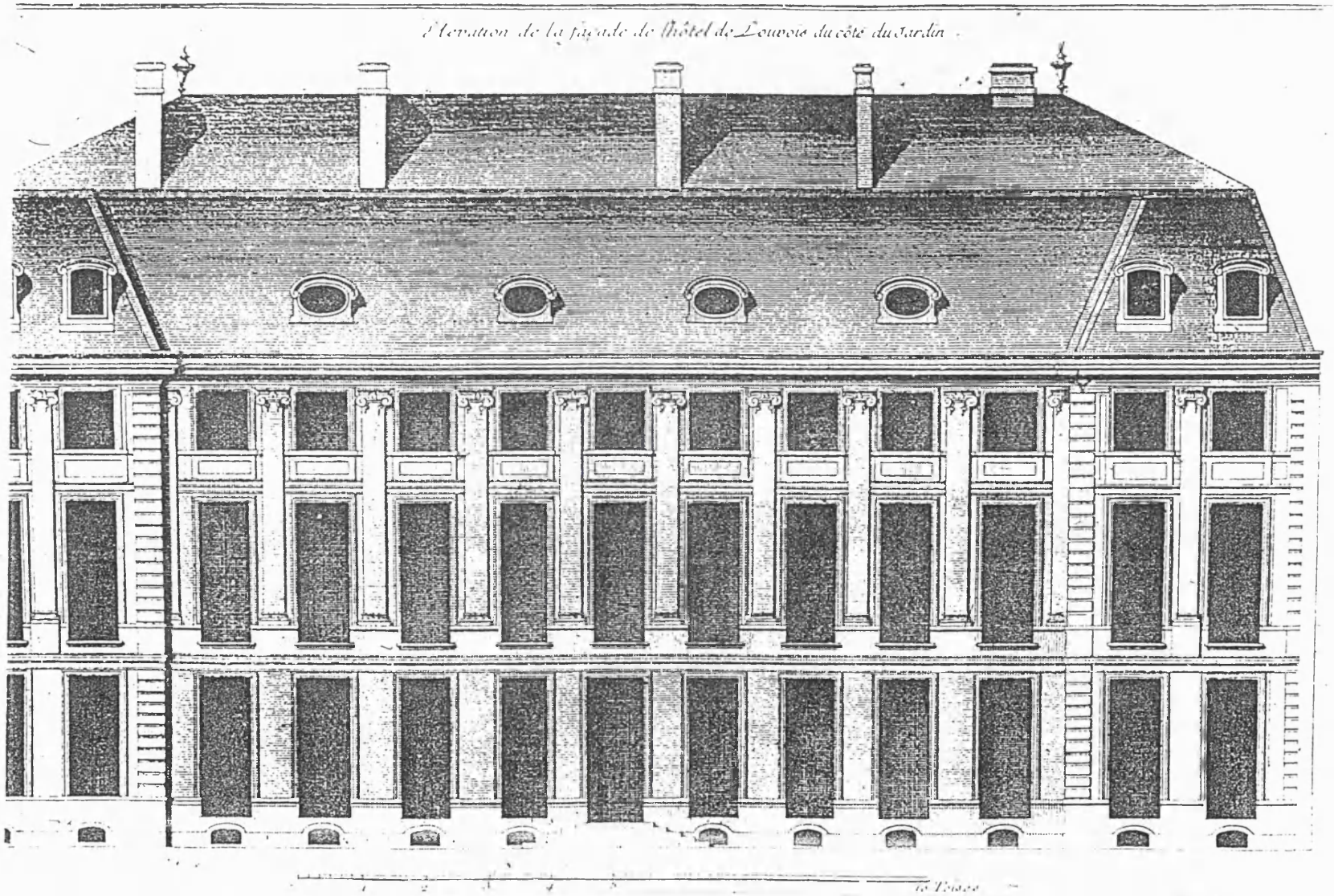
5 7a . French window disposition— Hôtel de Chaulnes, rue d'Enfer, Paris. Le Blond, J-B-A.



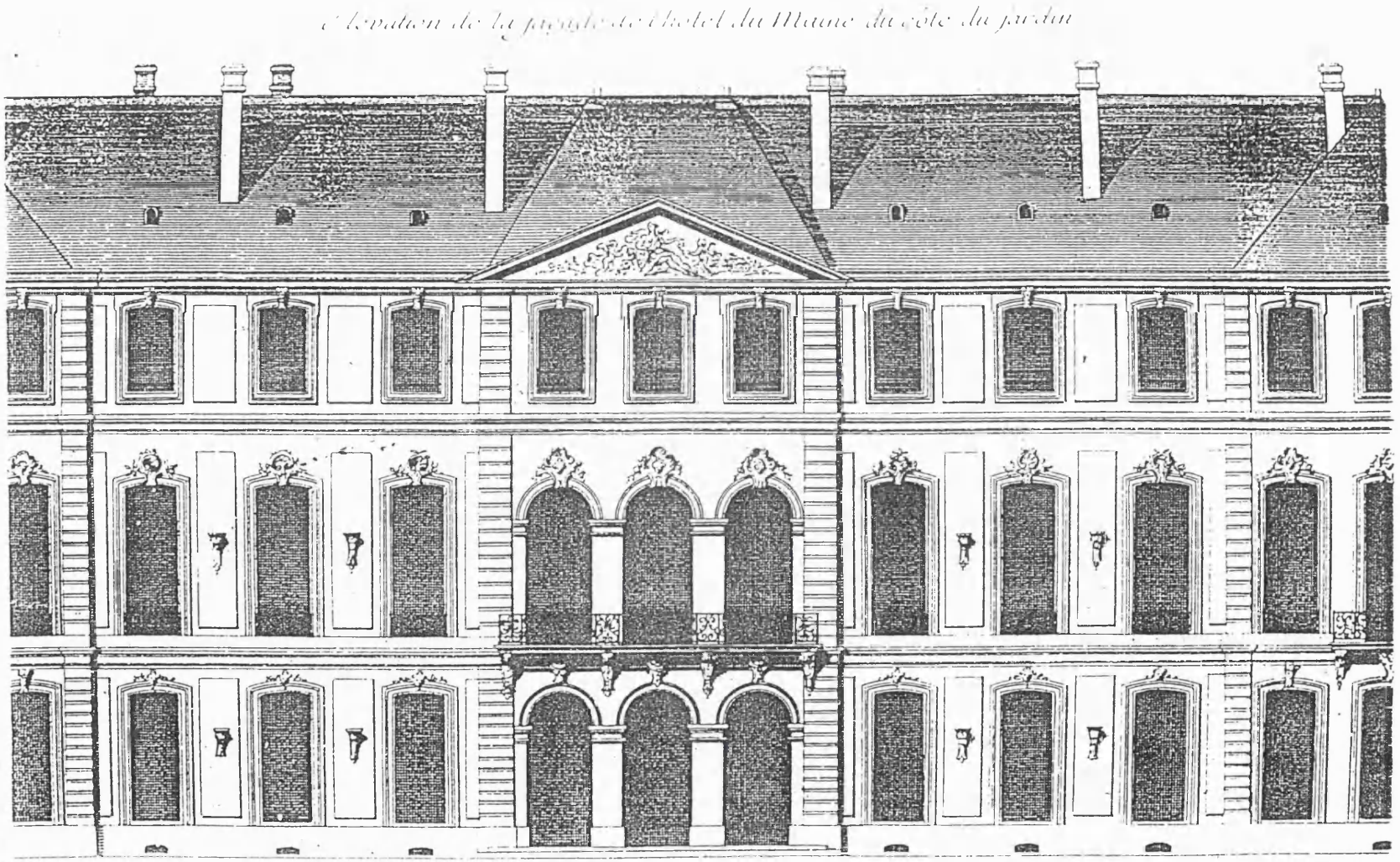
5 7b. French window disposition—courtyard elevation, Maison Crozat l'aîné, Place Vendôme, Paris. Bullet, P.



5 7c. French window disposition—garden elevation. Hôtel d'Humiers, rue de bourbon, Paris. Mollet, A-C.

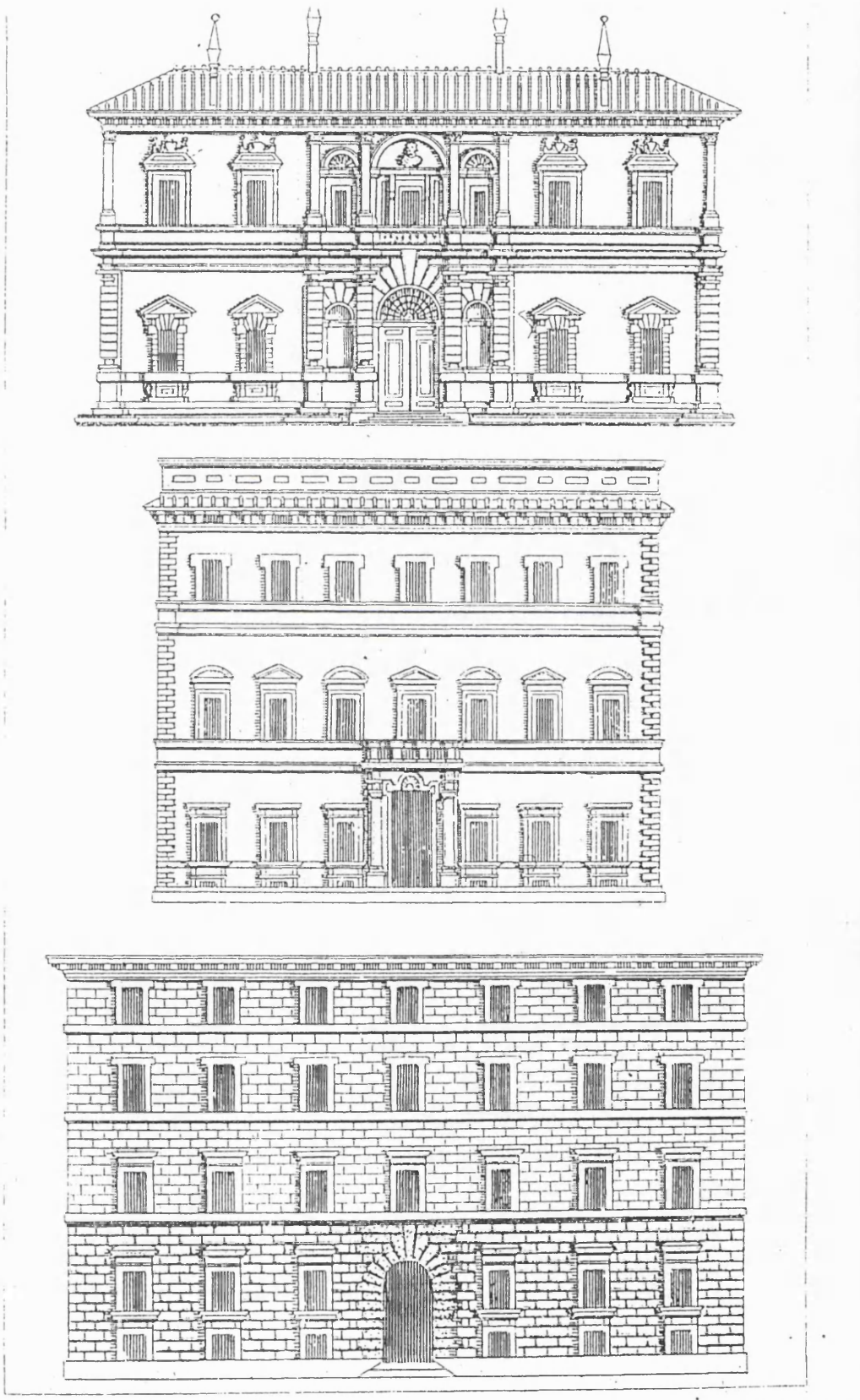


5 7d. French window disposition—garden elevation, Hôtel de Louvois, rue de Richelieu, Paris. Sieur Chamois.

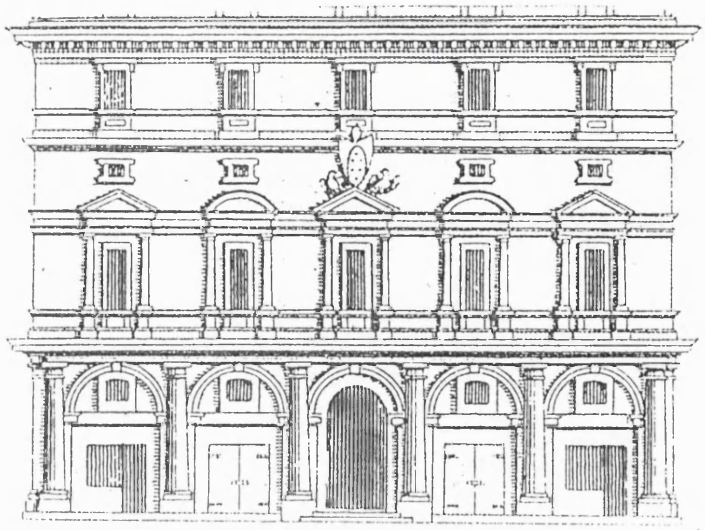


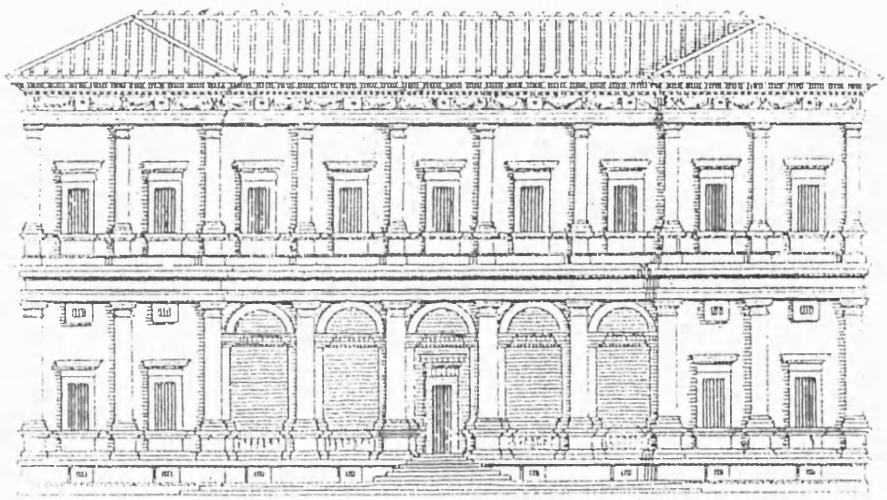
5 7e. French window disposition—garden elevation, Hôtel du Maine, rue de Bourbon, Paris. De Côte, R.

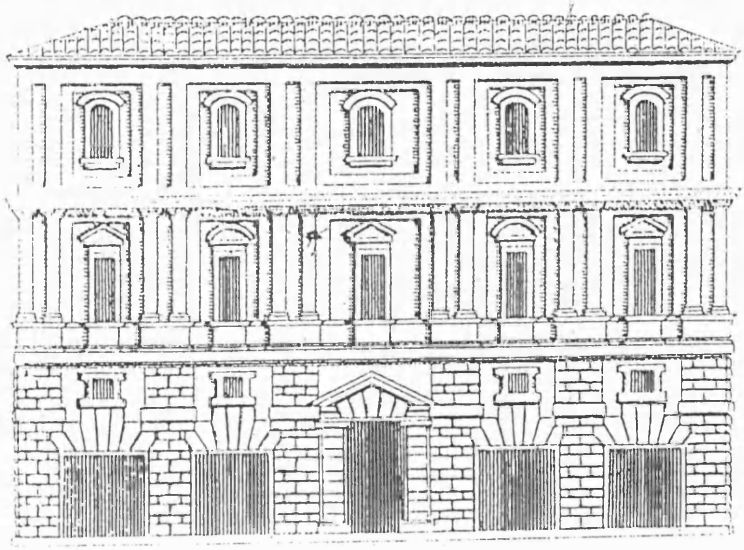
5 8. Window disposition in Italian town houses.



5 8a. Italian window disposition **(i).** Bramante (1504). **(ii).** Bramante (1505). **(iii).** Rafaele (1505).

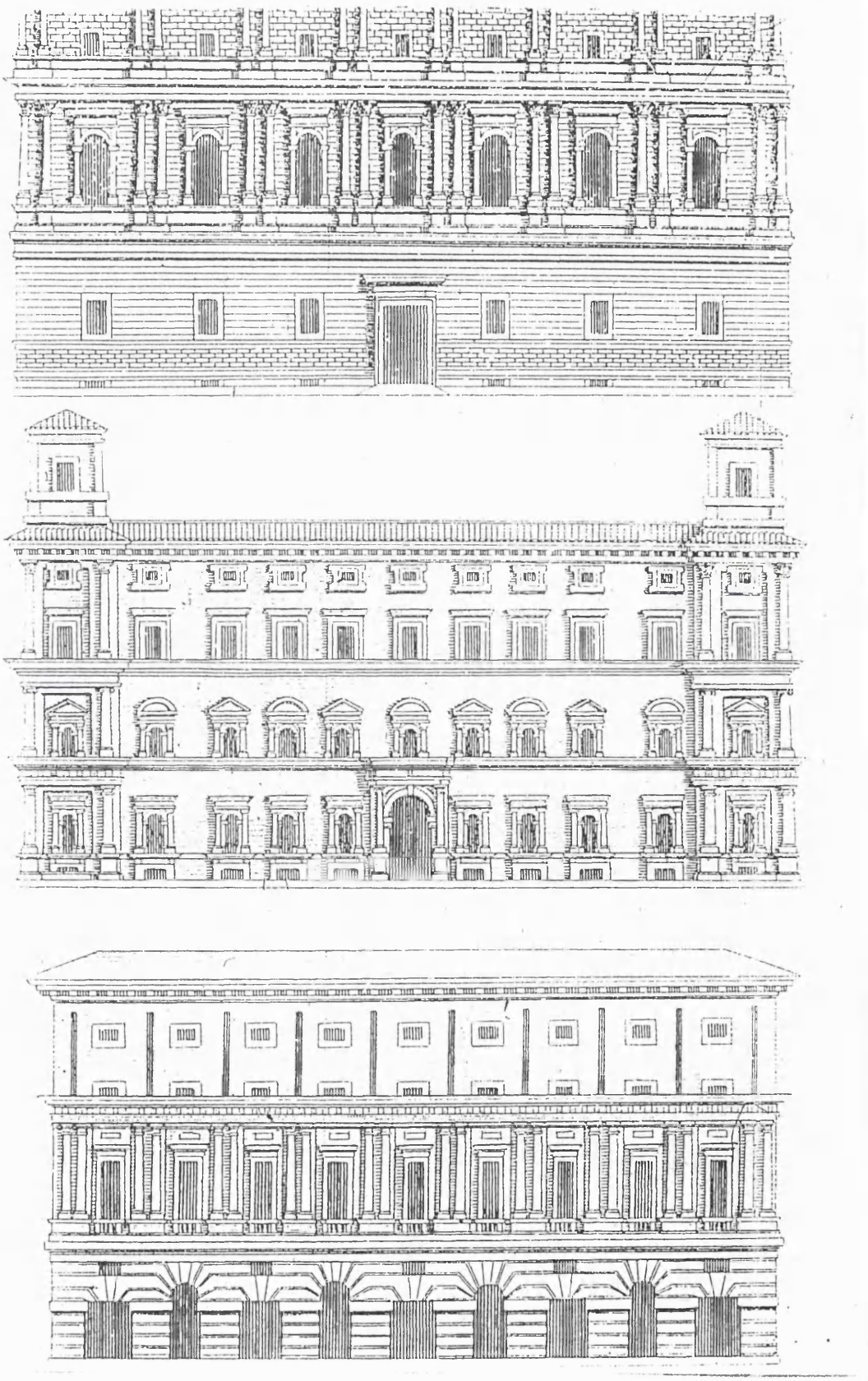




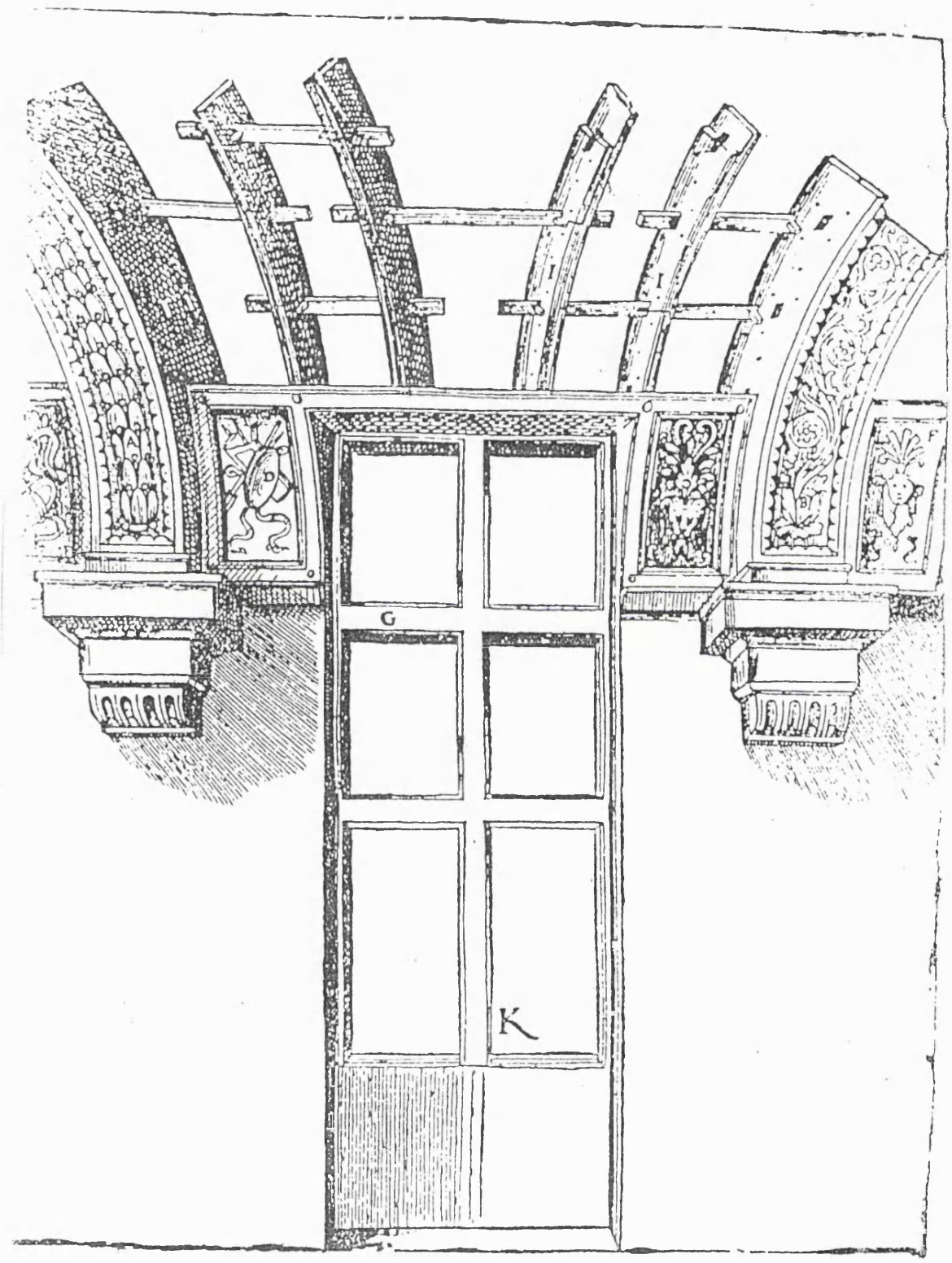


5 8b . Italian window disposition **(i).** Palazzo Caprini ("Rafaele's house") Bramante.

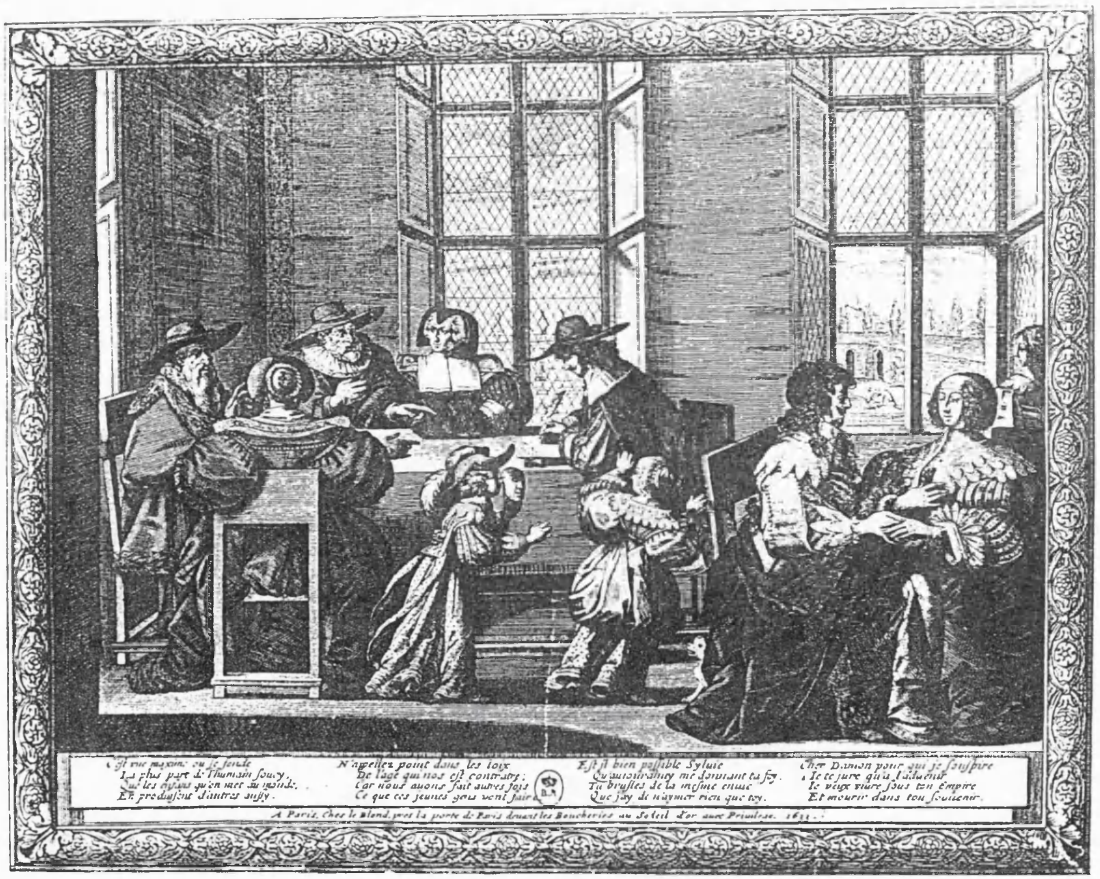
(ii). Palace alla Lungara ("*Galatea Rafaele*") Baldassare Peruzzi (1518). **(iii).** Julio Romano (153



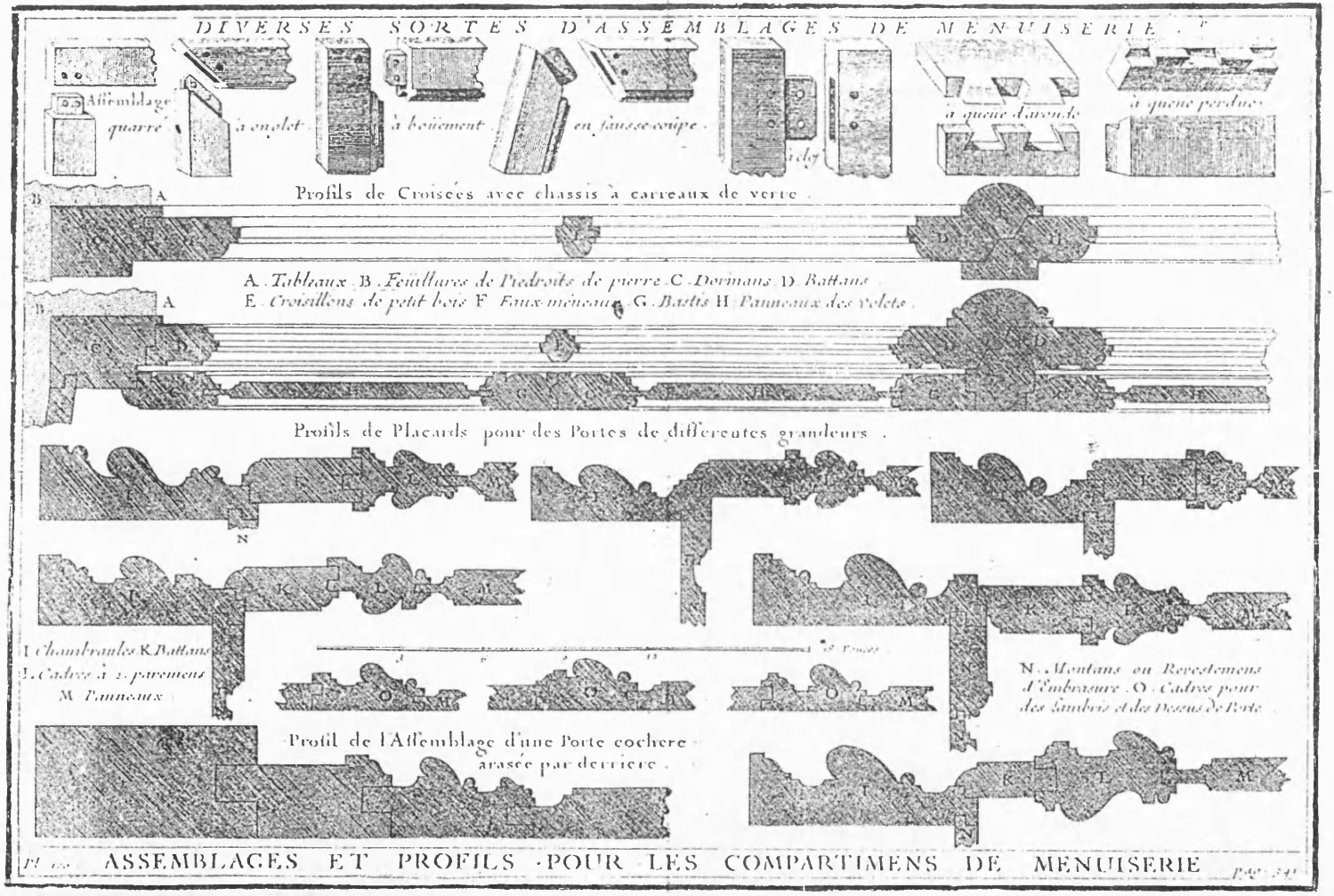
5 8c. Italian window disposition **(i).** Vignola (1553). **(ii).** Da Faenza, P. (1585). **(iii).** Ligorio, P. (1560)



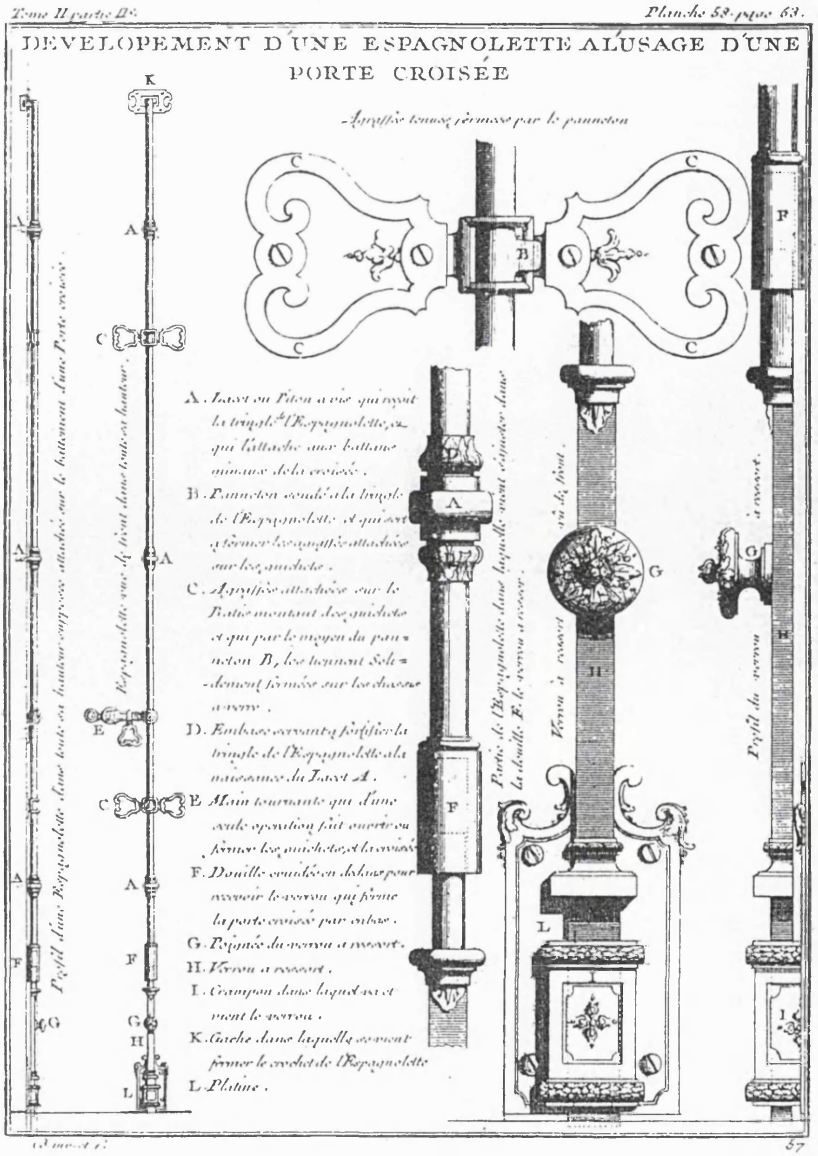
59. Window encroaching into the ceiling cove at Château de St. Maur (1536). L'Orme, Philibert de



60. Window openings made up of six casement, *Le mariage en Ville -—Le Contract*. Abraham Bosse.



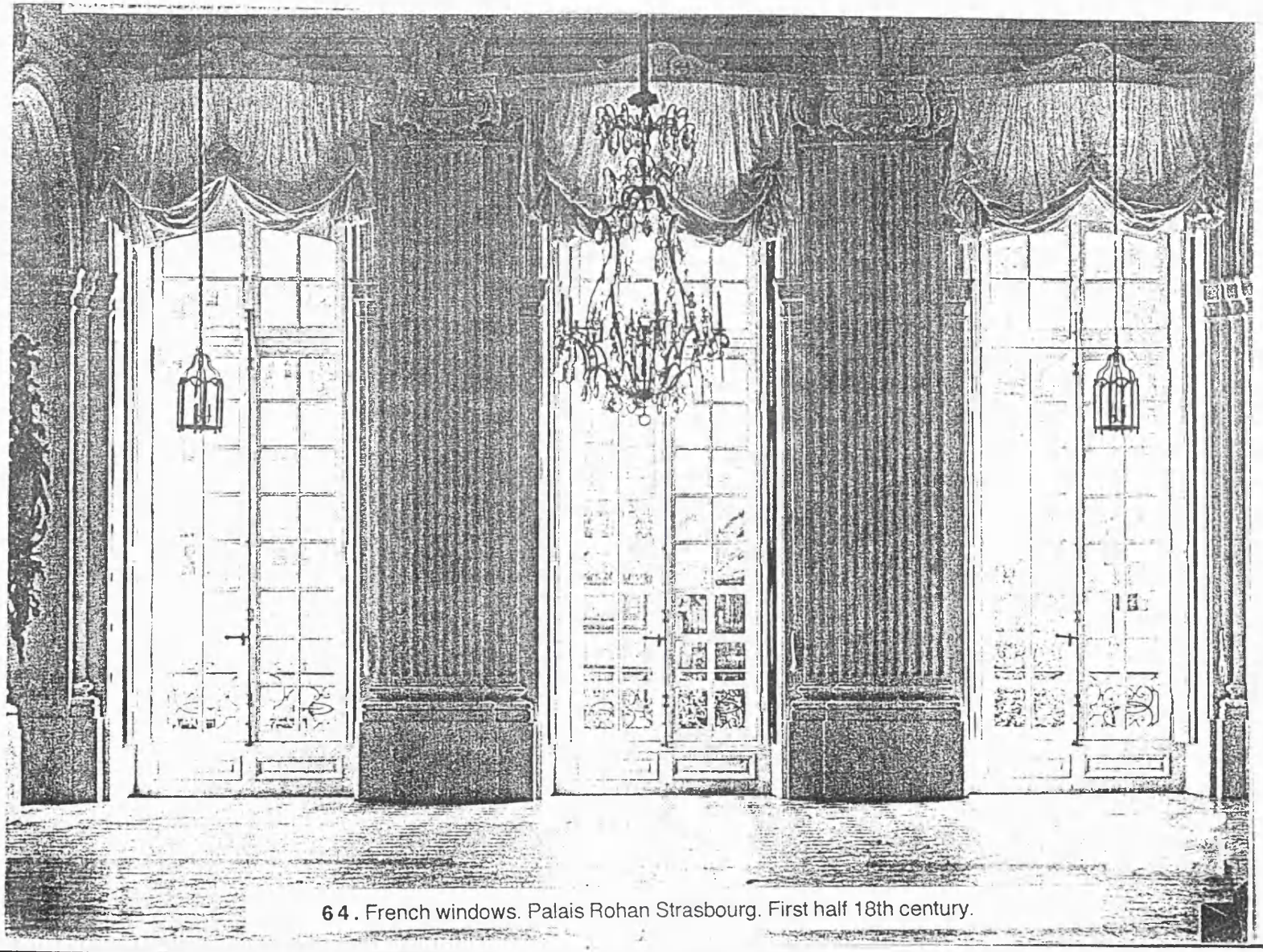
6 1 . Window details (timber). in *Cours d'architecture* (1691). D'Aviler



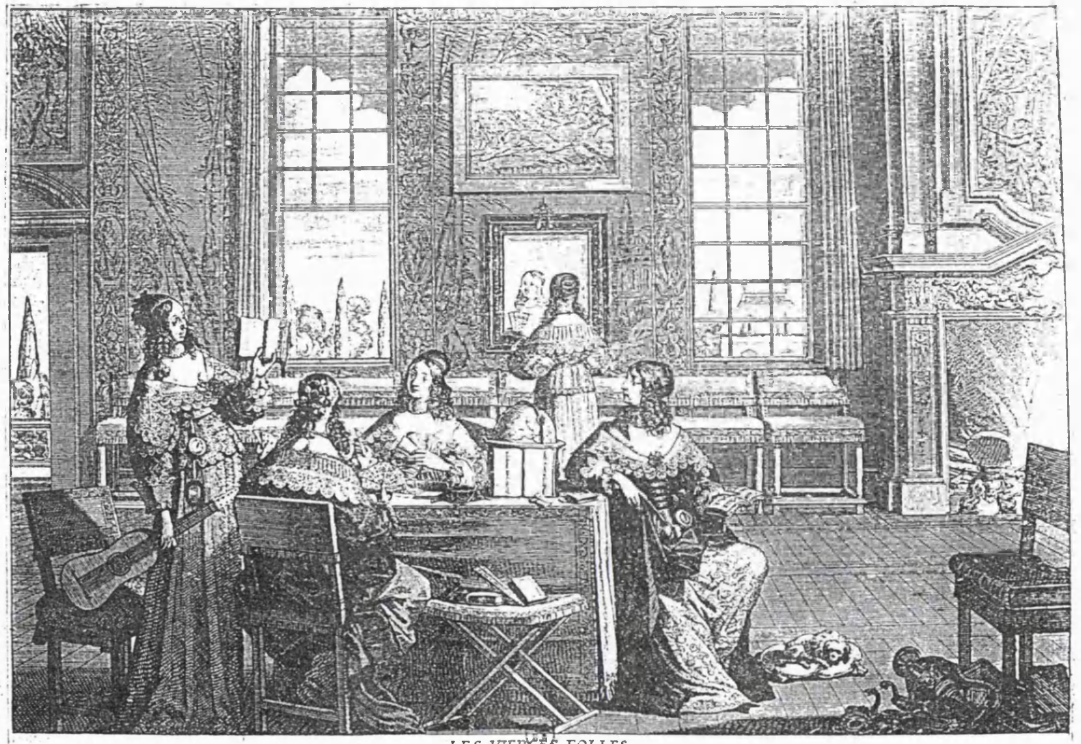
6 2 . Window fittings (metal).

Traité d'architecture dans le goût moderne (1737-8). Blondel, J-F.

63. Casement windows. *Les cinq sens --Le Toucher*. Abraham Bosse.



64. French windows. Palais Rohan Strasbourg. First half 18th century.



LES VIERGES FOLLES.

Tu voix comme ces Vierges folles
S'amusent inutilement
Apres des actions frivoles,
Dont Elles font leur Element.

Les Jeux, les Festins, la Musique,
La Dance, et les liures d'Amour ;
C'est a quoy leur Esprit s'applique,
Y passant la nuict, et le jour.

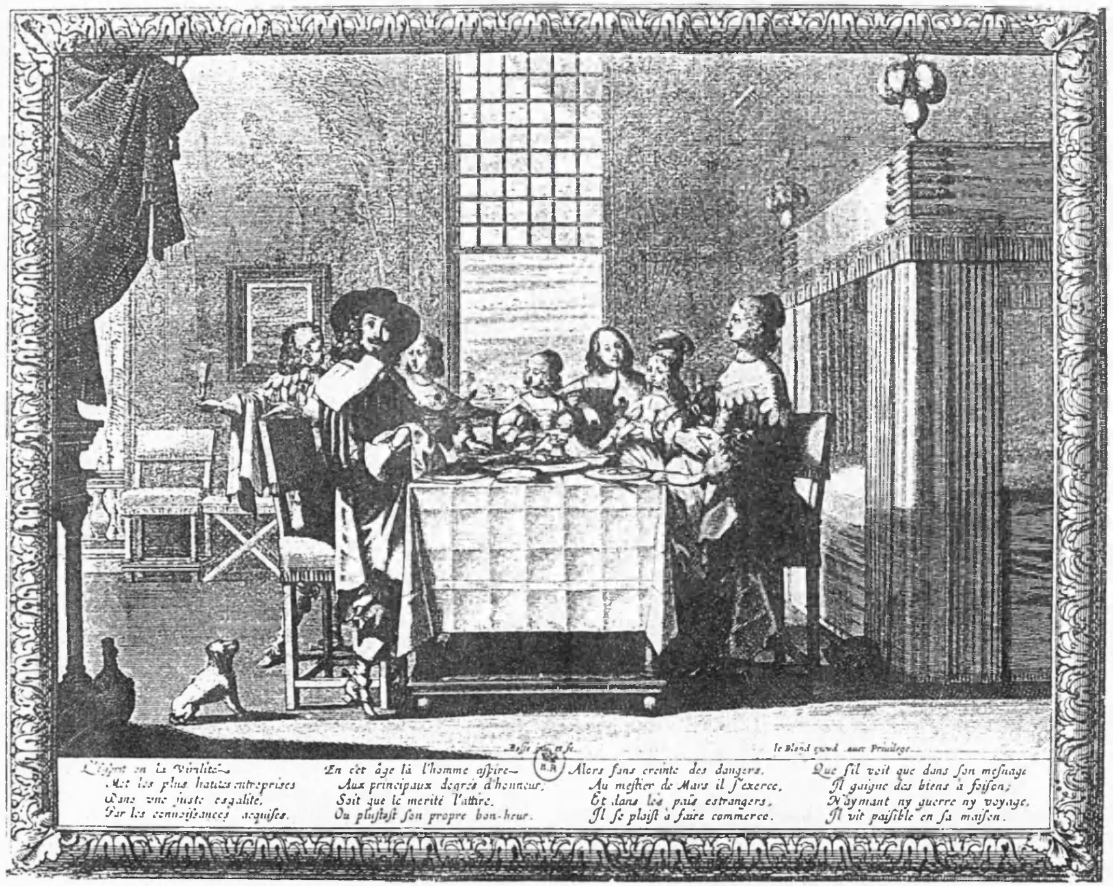
O que ces Ames insensées
Cherissent les Mondanités!
Leurs parolles, et leurs pensées
N'S'attachent qu'aux Vanités.

D'vn faux lustre leur vie esclatte;
Elles aiment ce qui leur nuit
Et lors que le Monde les flatte,
Il les enchante et les destruit.

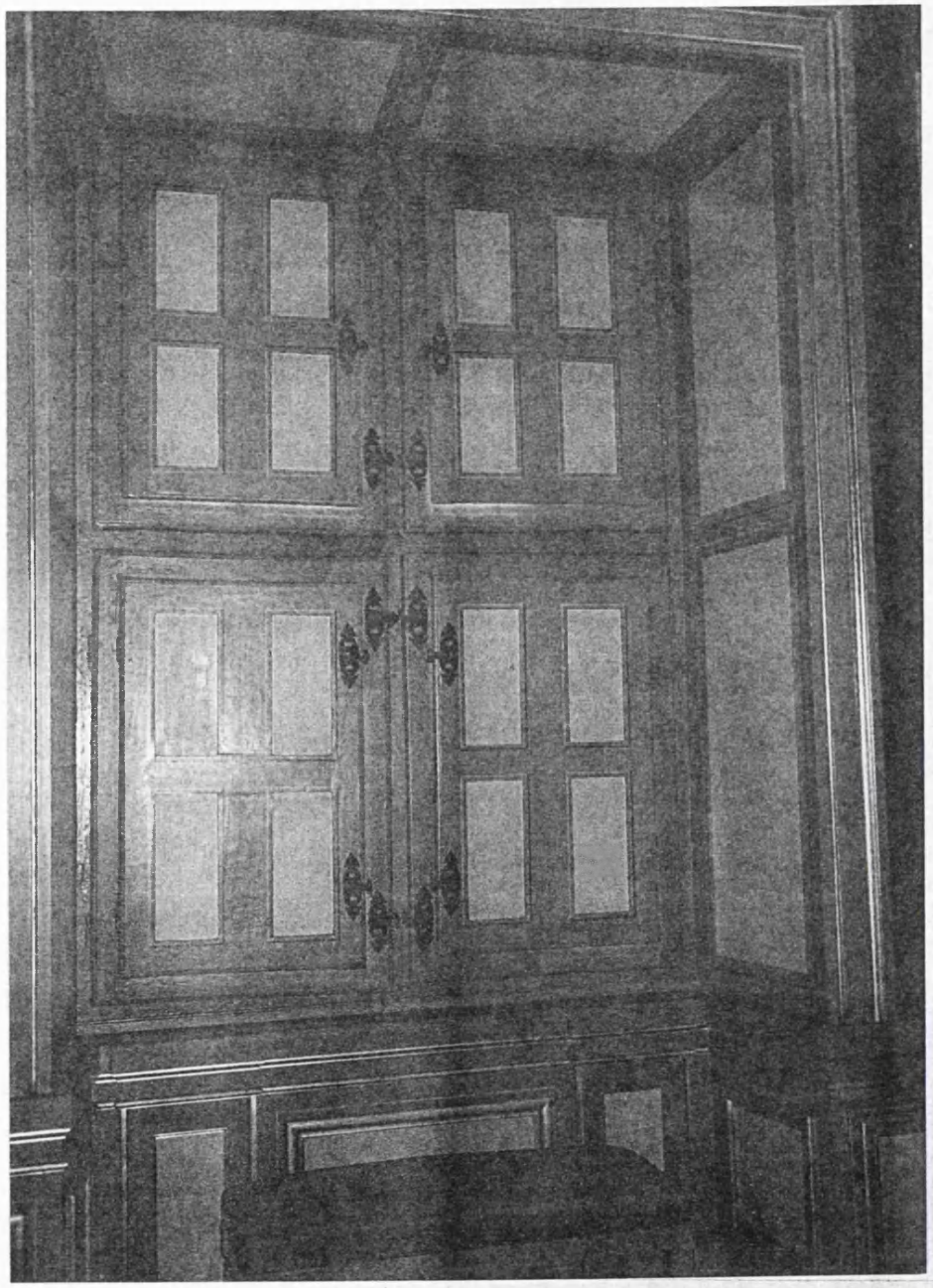
Bosse inu. et fc.

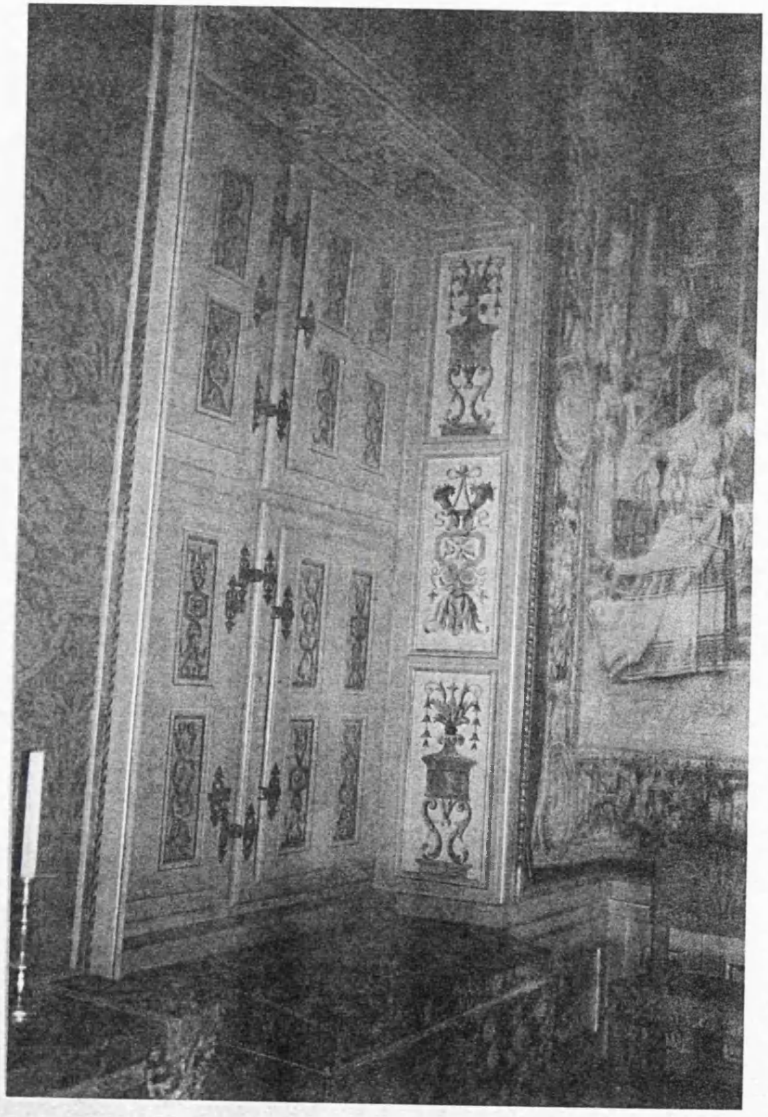
A Paris, Chez le Blond, ruë S.t Denys, au Pouillon Royal. Avec Priuilege du Roy.

6 5a. Possible sash-windows. *Les Vierges folles.* A. Bosse



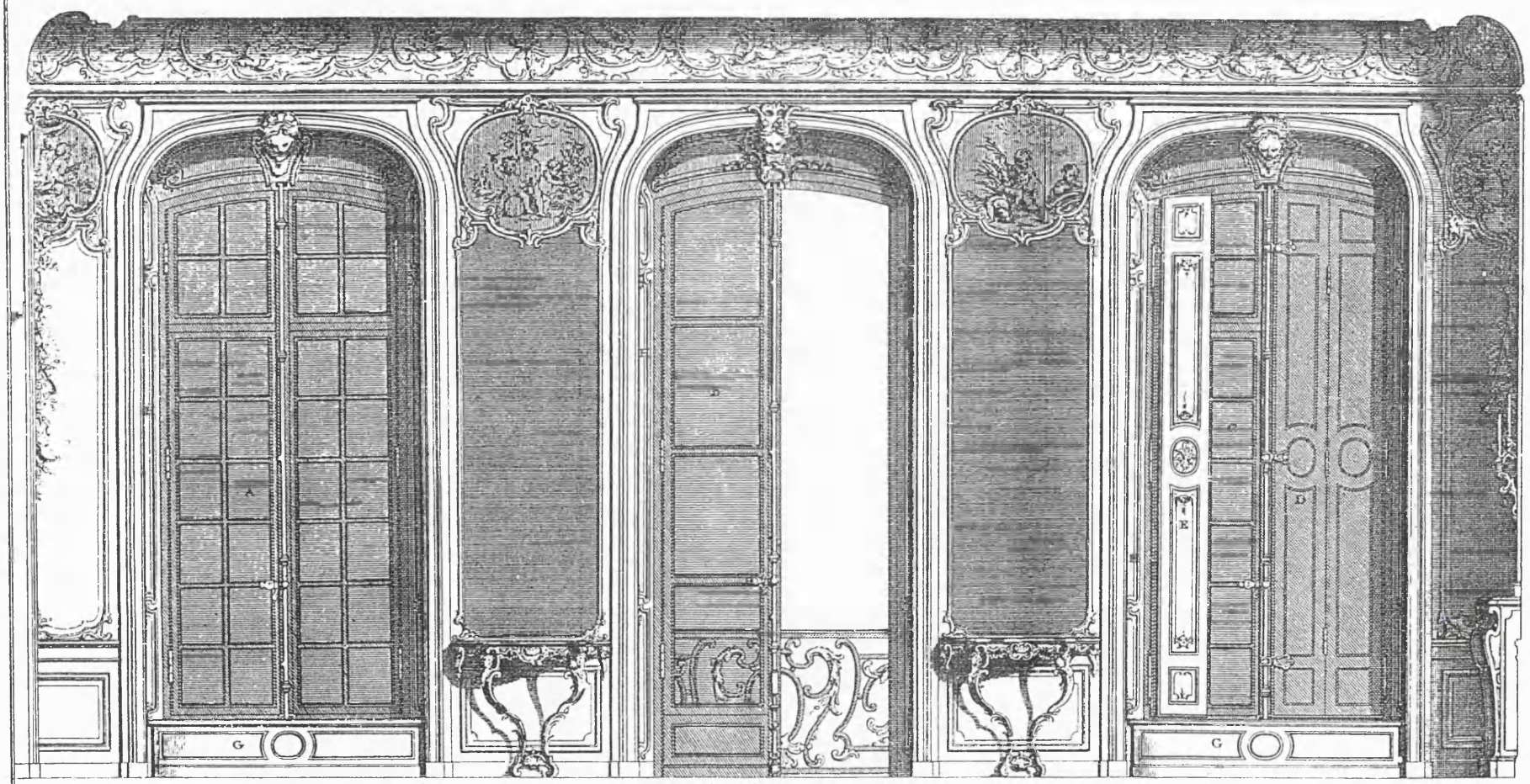
6 5b . Possible sash-windows. *Les quatre Ages — La Virilité.* A. Bosse





66. Shutters: internal casements, Vaux-le-Vicomte (1656-60)

DECORATION D'UNE SALLE D'ASSEMBLÉE VUE DU CÔTÉ DES CROISÉES



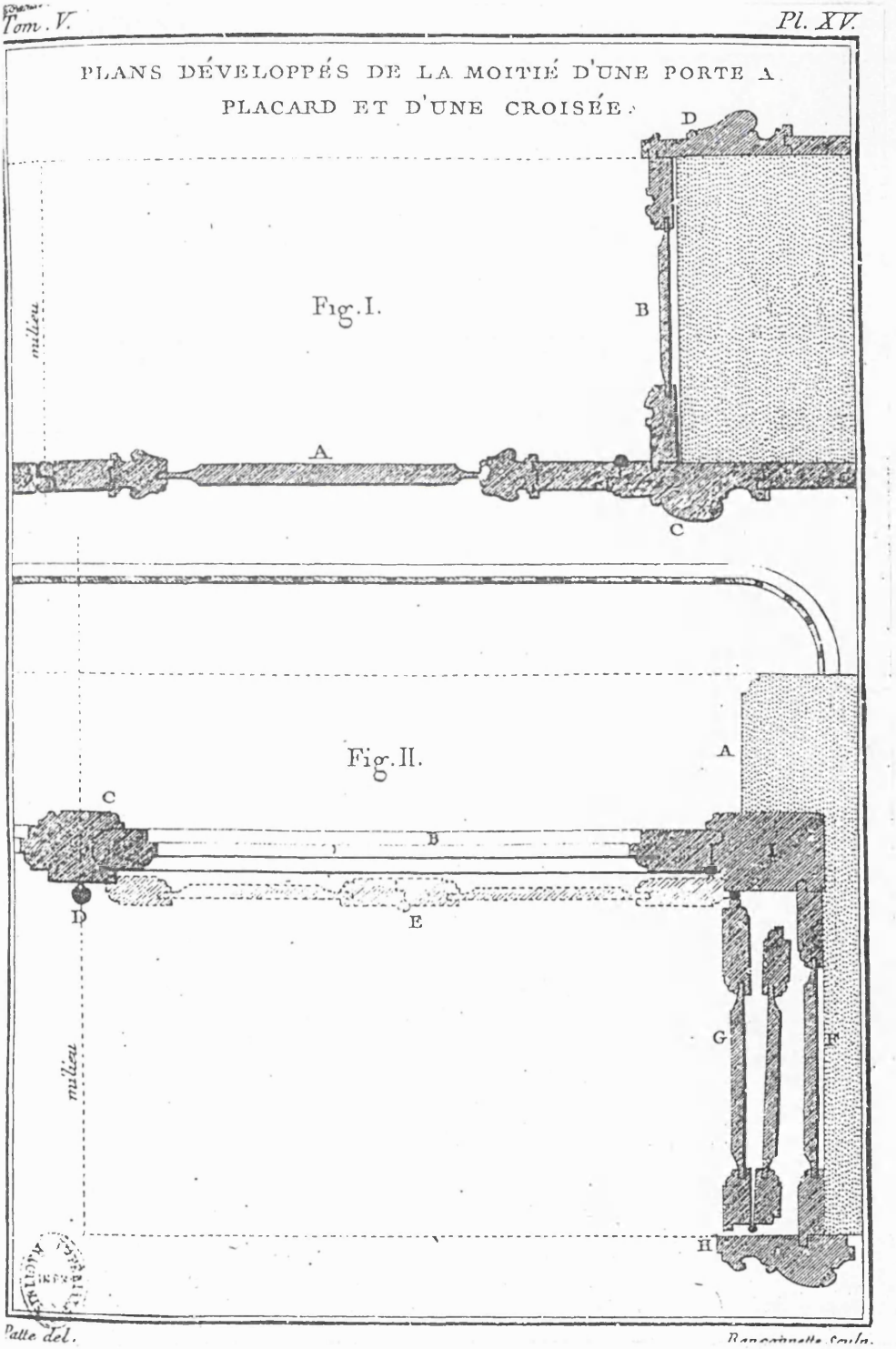
A. Croisée à banquette et à double parement dont les developpemens se voyent à la planche 97.
B. Vitraux de partie Croisée agrandie pour recevoir des glaces.
C. Partie d'un des ventaux de la Croisée à banquette.
D. Guichet percé sur le dormant de la Croisée, à tour fermé par l'espagnolette.

Echelle de Six Pieds.

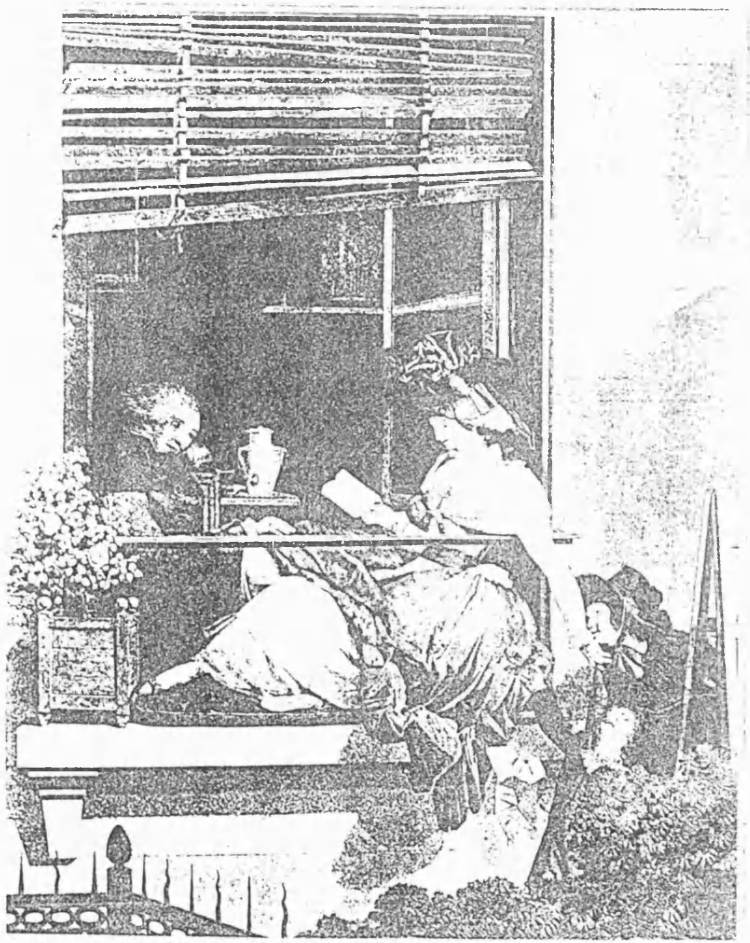
E. Parement des guichets brisés.
F. Espagnolette fermée sur la Croisée A qui croise le guichet D sur le Dormant de la Croisée.
G. Banquette de menuiserie revêtue de marbre.
H. Embrasemens contre lesquels se viennent ranger les guichets lorsqu'ils sont ouverts à briser.

B. inv. et fe. 82

6 7a. Shutters: internally folding. french windows. Blondel, J-F. (1737-8).



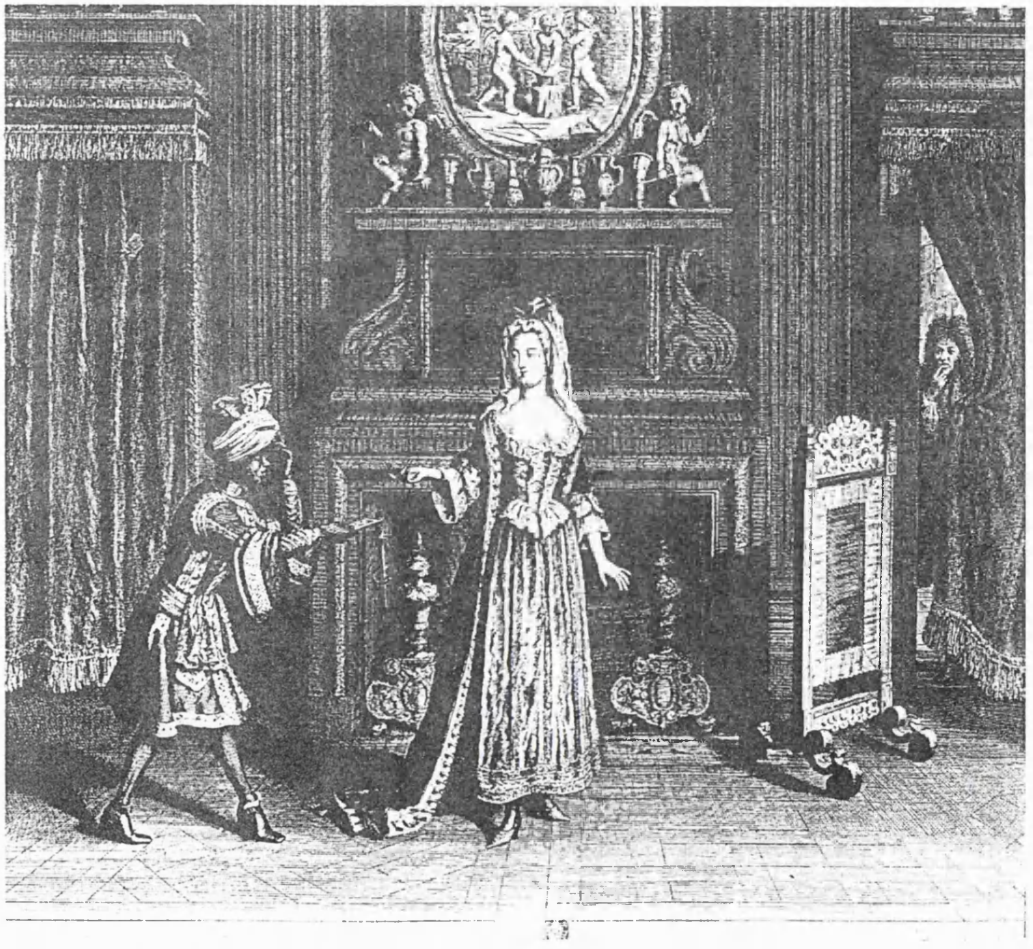
67b. Shutters: internally folding. french windows. Blondel, J-F. (1771-7).



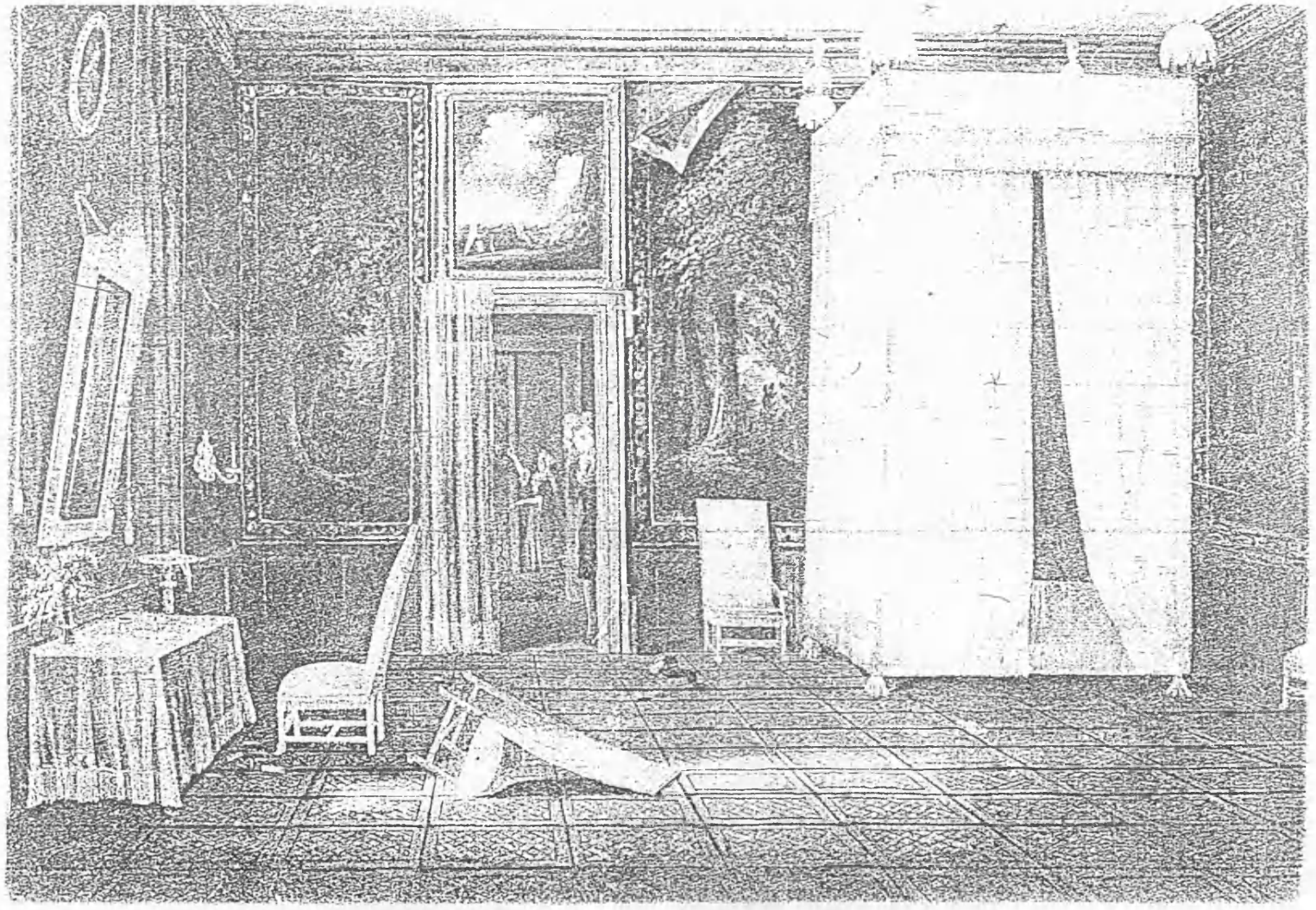
68. Sutters: external "Venetian blinds" *La Croisé.* Debucourt.

69. *Paravent*, in "*La déclaration de la grossesse*" (1776).

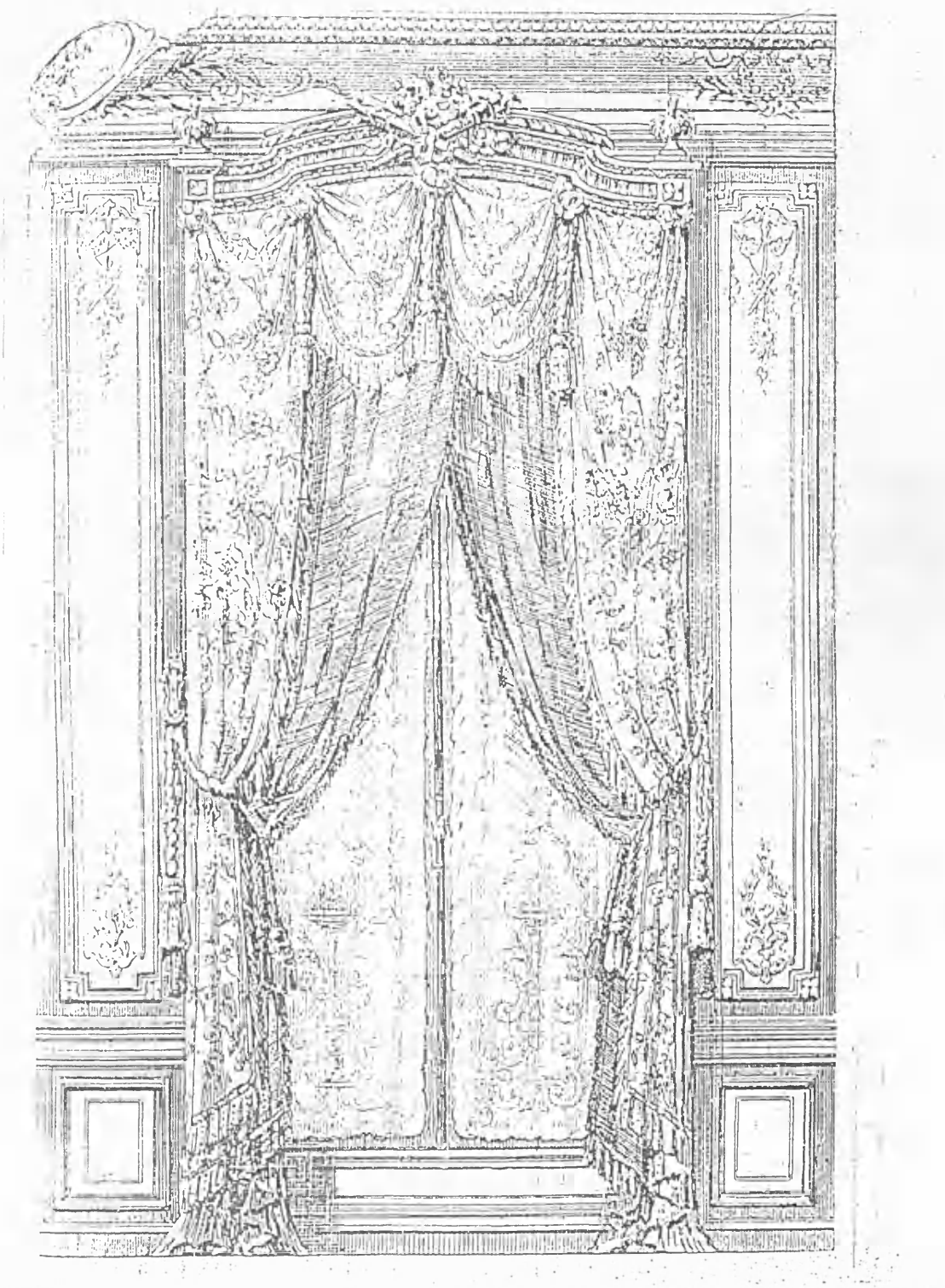
Martini, P-A. after Morreau le Jeune.



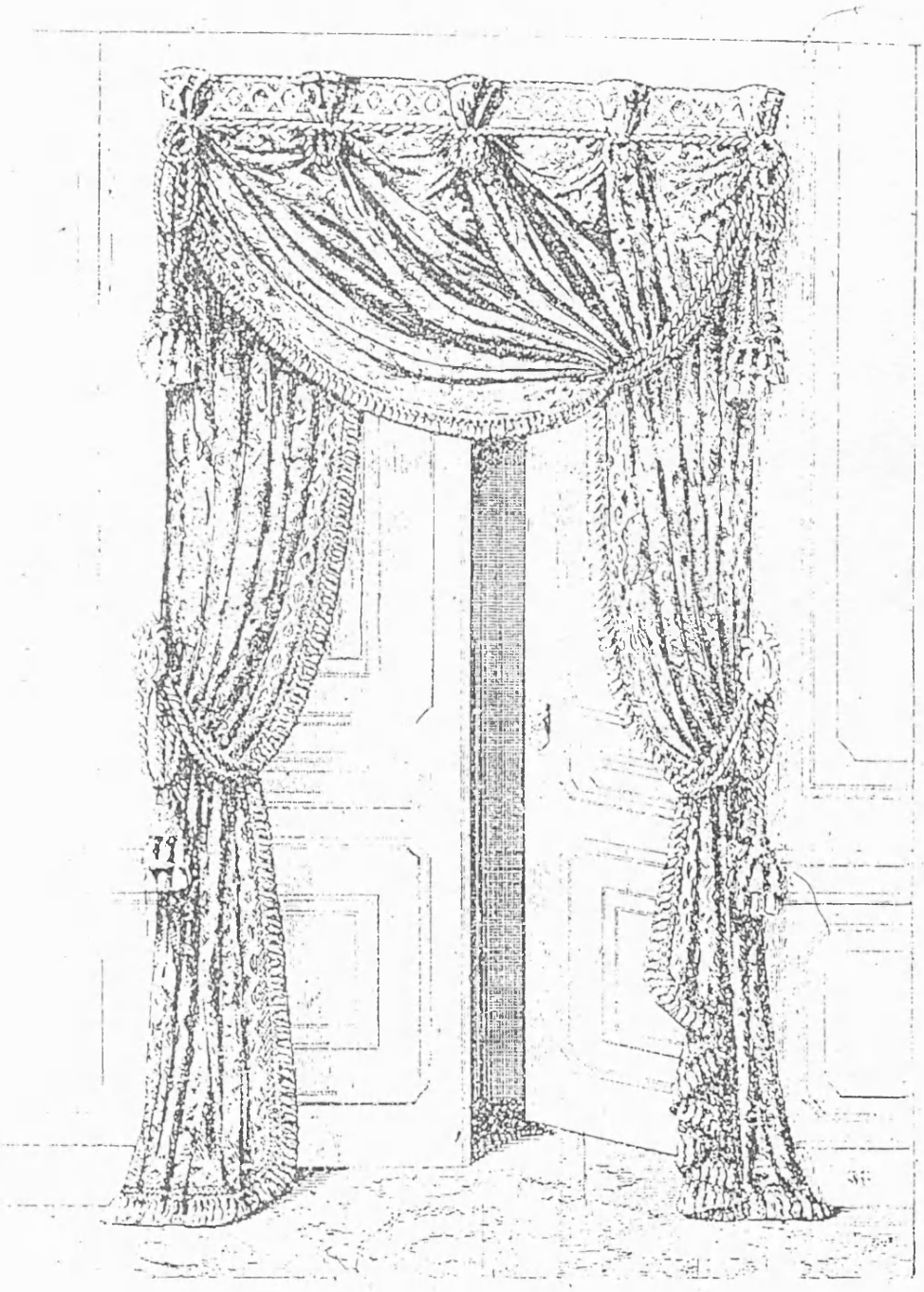
7 0b . *Portiere.* French interior of 1688



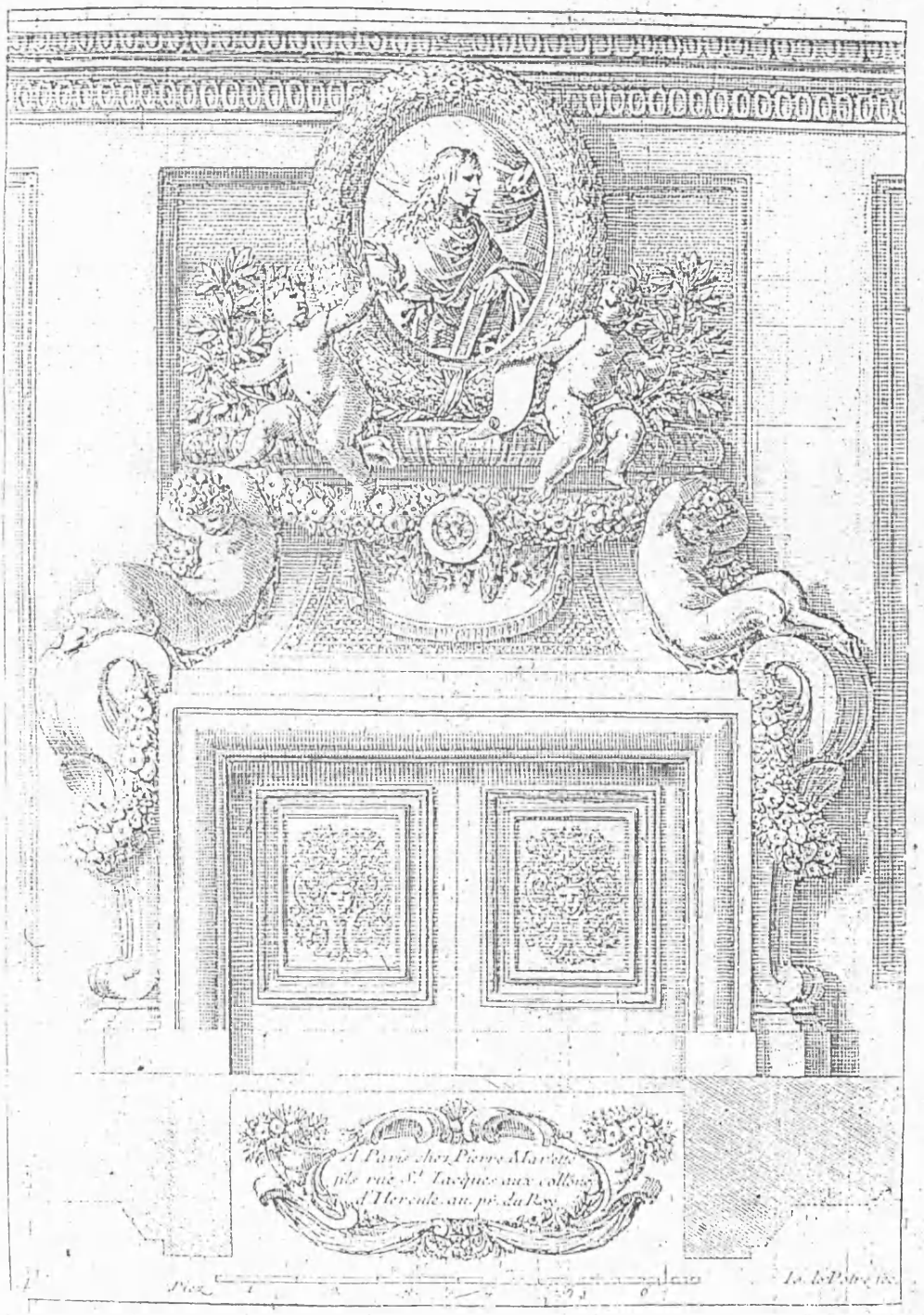
7 0c. *Portiere.* French interior early 1690s artist unknown.



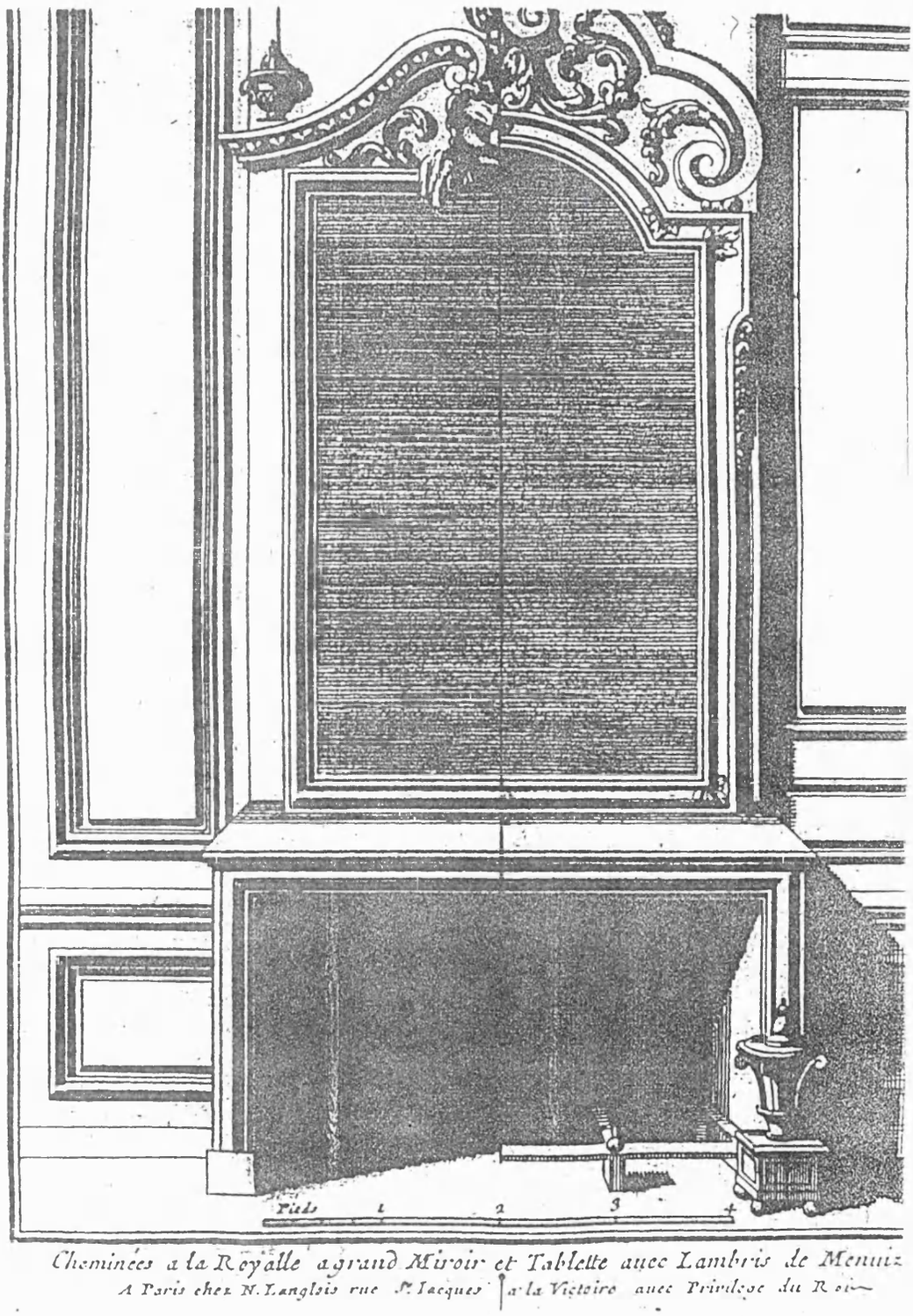
7 0d . *Doubles rideaux (Garniture style Louis XVI).*



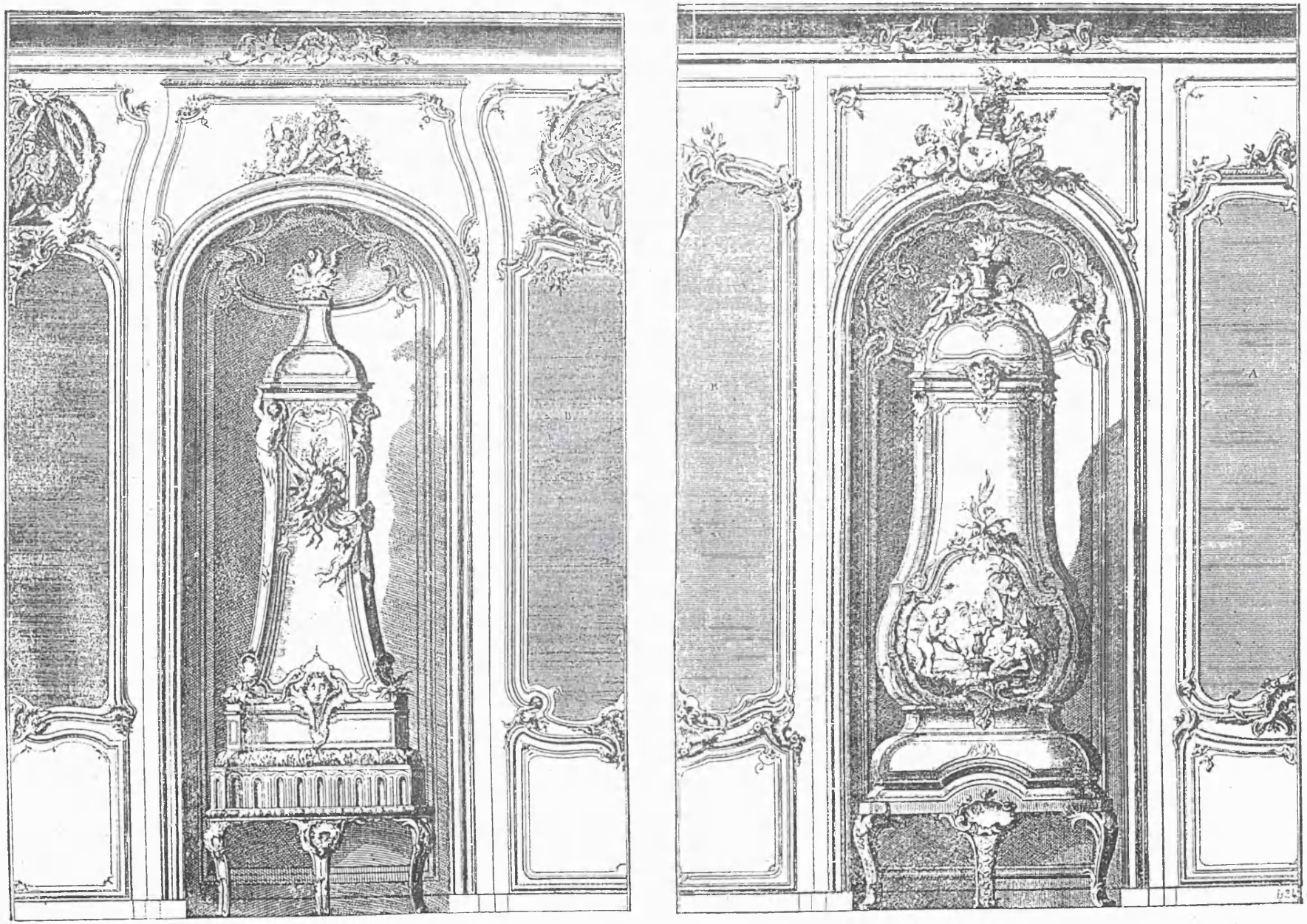
7 0e . *Portiere retroussée à l'Italienne.*



7 1 . Fireplace doors. Le Pautre, J. (1659-1685)



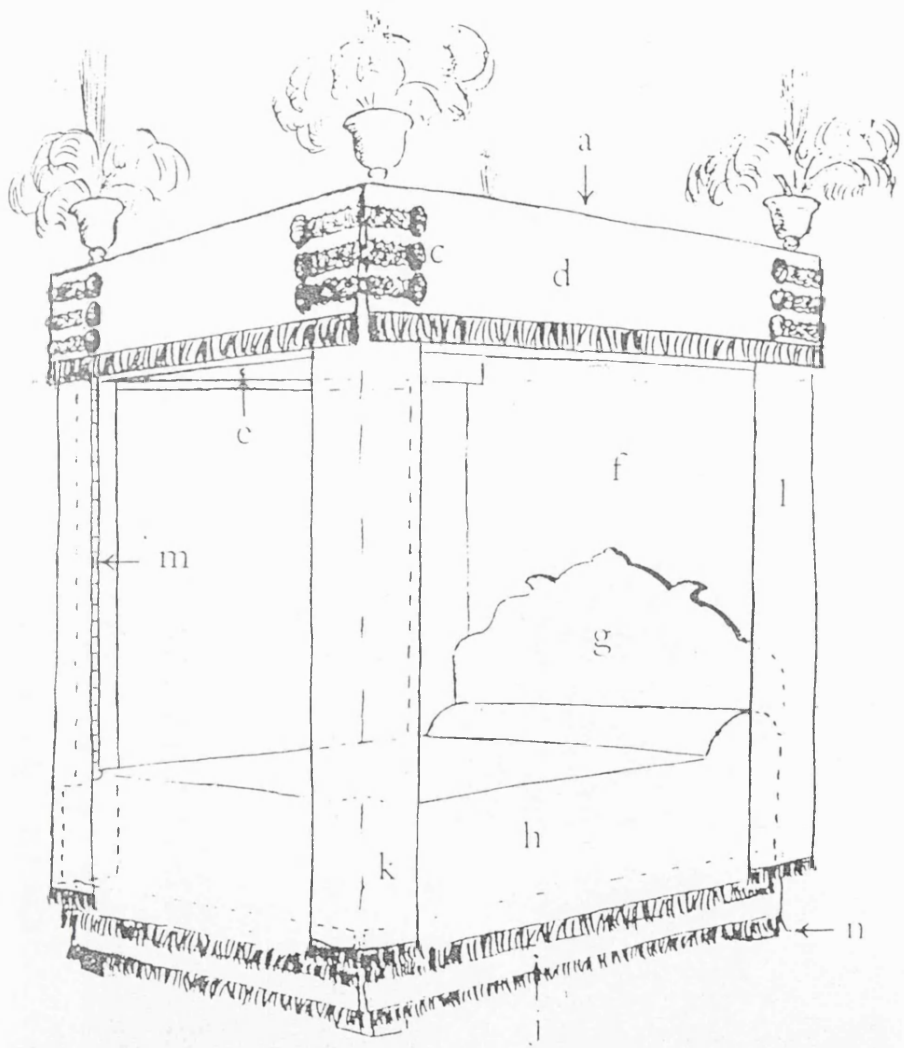
72. Chimneypiece, "*moderne*". Le Pautre, J. (1659-85)



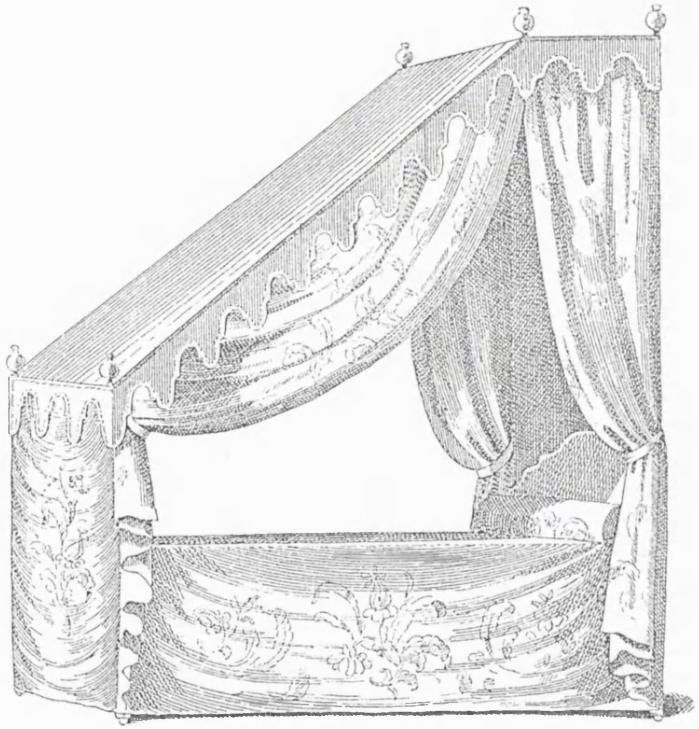
73. *Poëles* of the reign of Louis XV, designed by François Cuvilles.

18. Diagram showing the parts of a seventeenth-century bed with the main bed-curtains omitted for the sake of clarity.

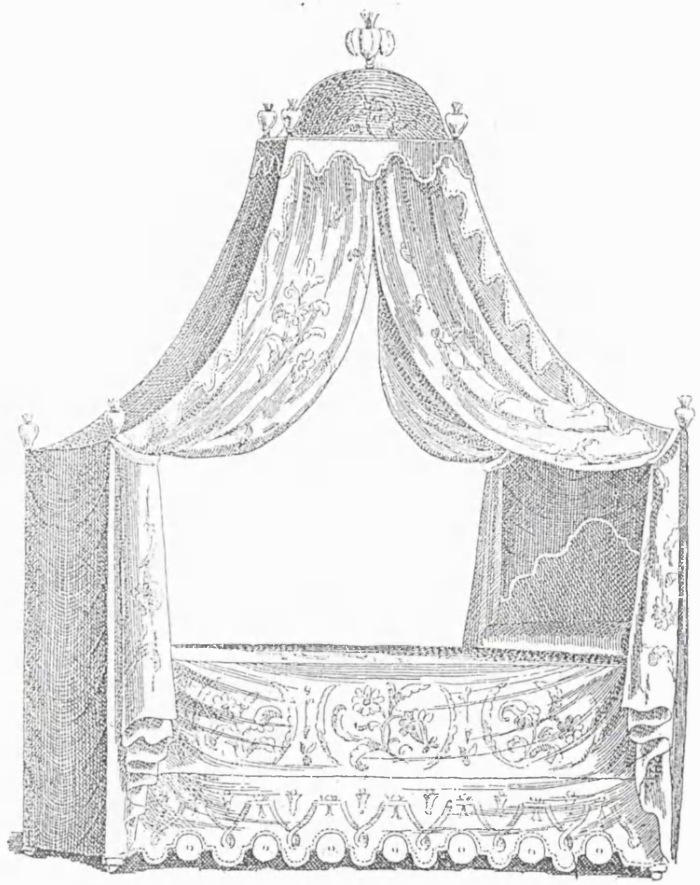
a. Tester.
b. Cup with plumes (ostrich feather *panaches*, and *aigrettes*).
c. Buttons and loops (originally linked the valances but became decorative, as here).
d. Outer valance (*pente*).
e. Inner valance (*pente*).
f. Headcloth (*dossier*).
g. Headboard.
h. Counterpoint.
j. Base valance (*pente* or *soubassement*).
k. Cantoon (*cantonnière*).
l. Bonegrace (*bonnegrâce*).
m. Post with its case.
n. Feet, the lowest part of the bedstock.



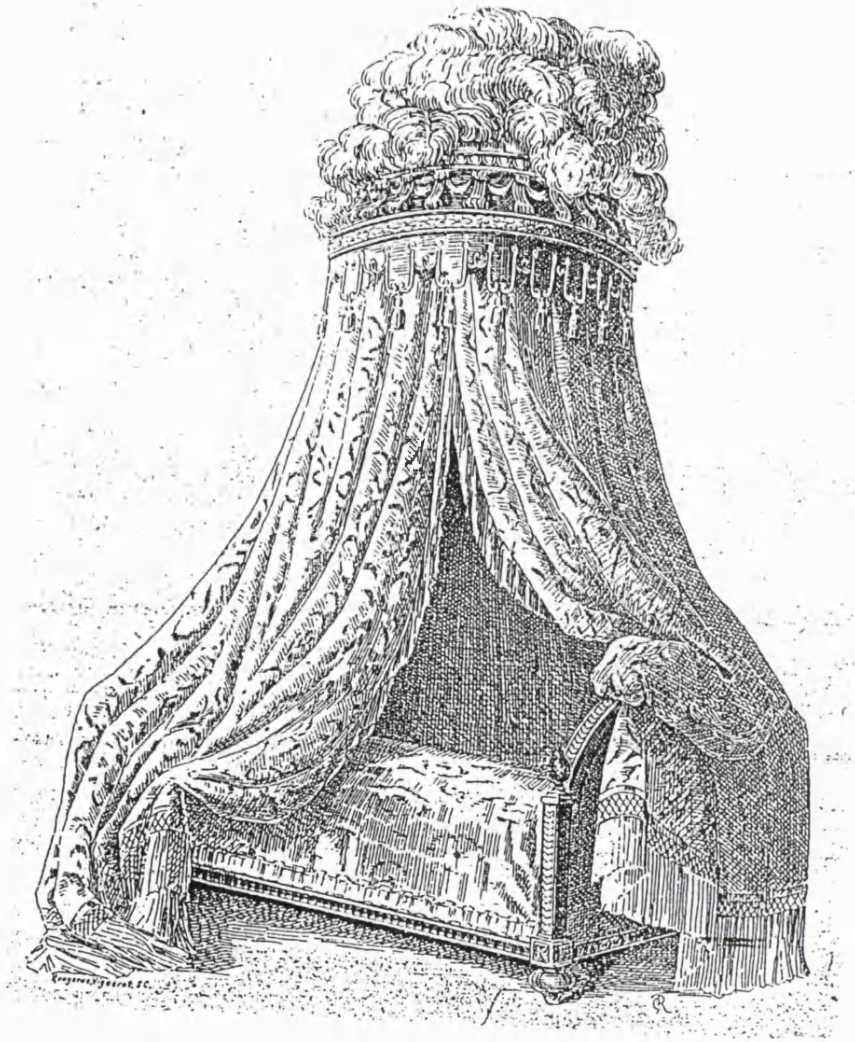
7 4a. Diagram showing parts of 17th c. bed (main curtains ommited) by Thornton, P.

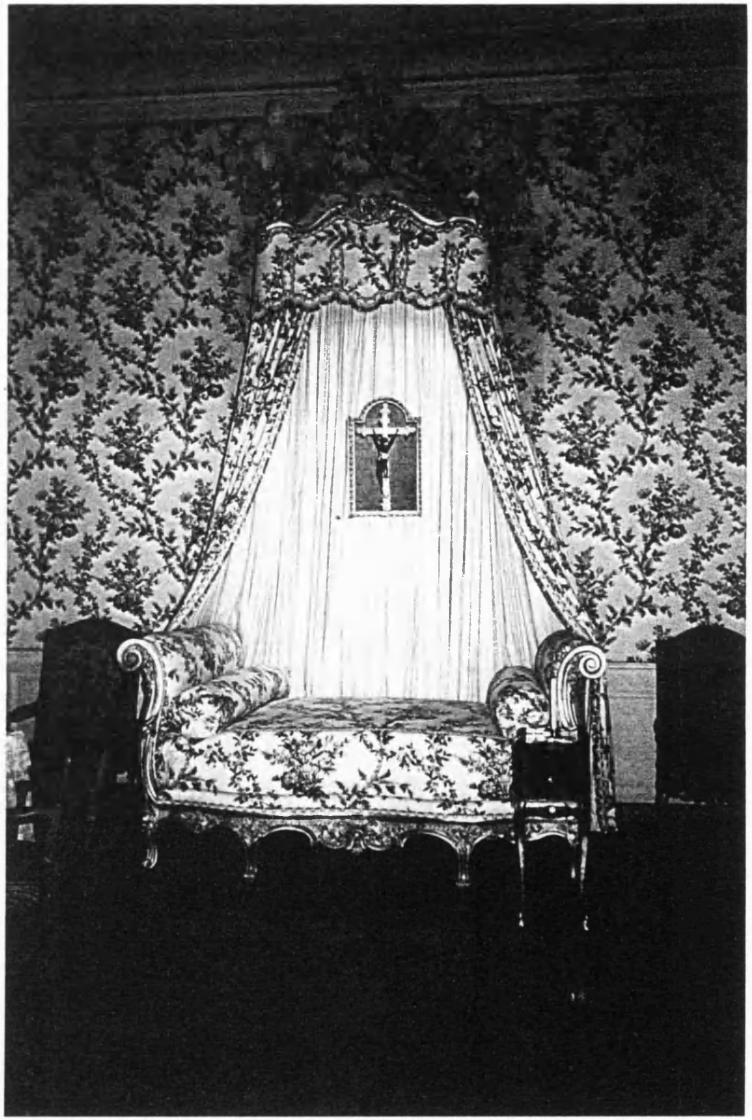


7 4d. "*Lit en tombeau*" 18th century.



7 4e. "*Lit en double tombeau*" 18th century.

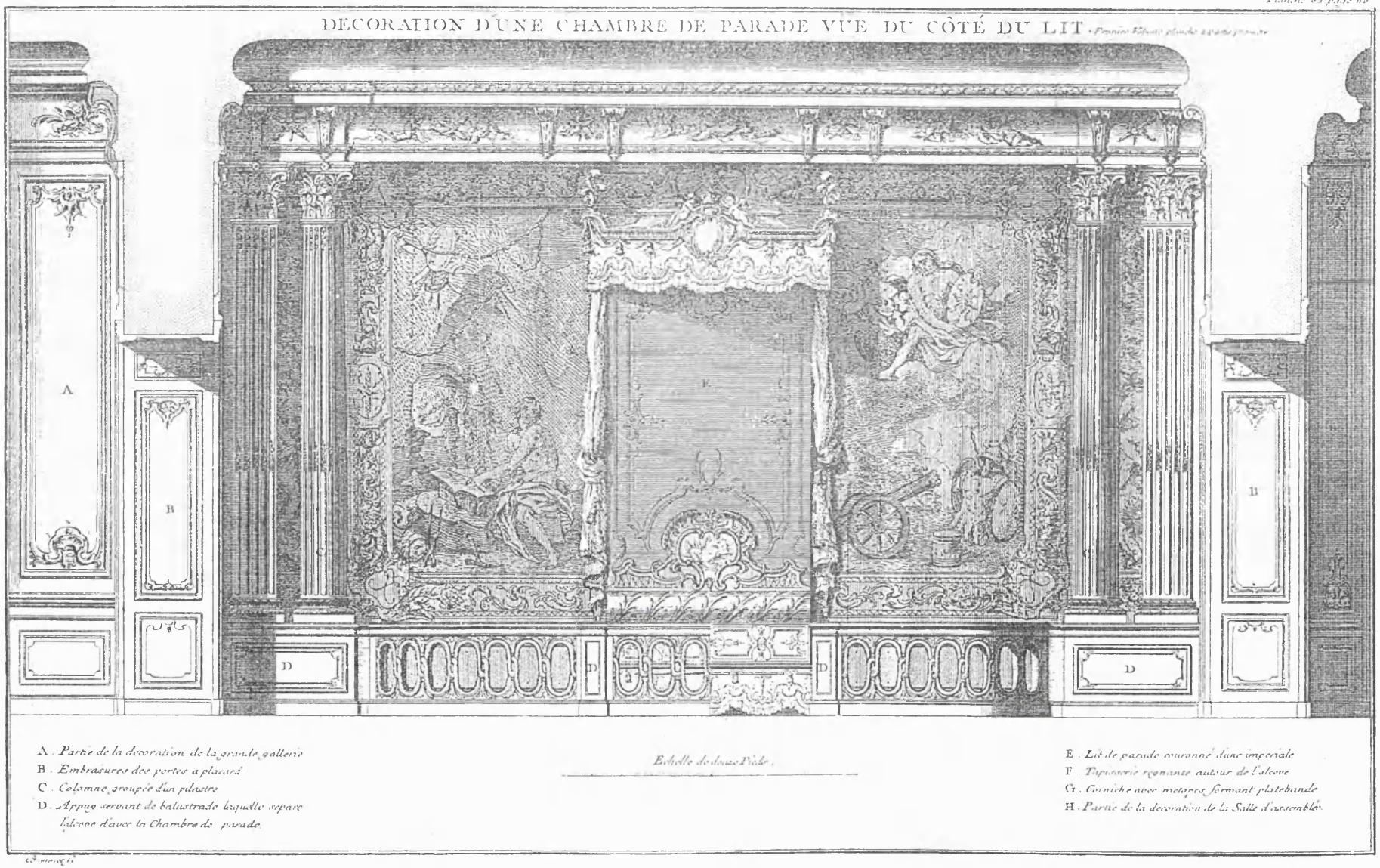




7 4f. "*Grand lit de luxë.*

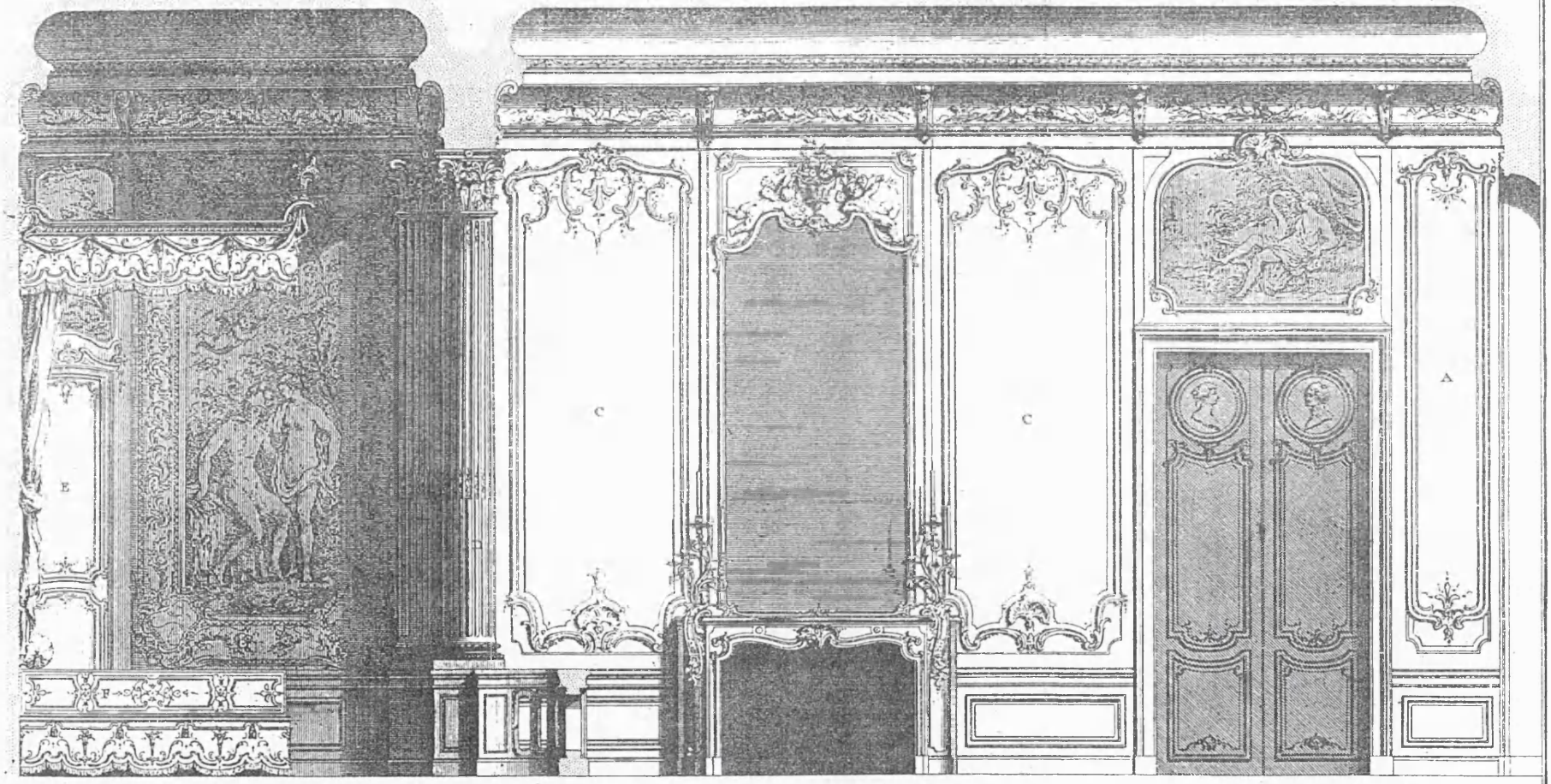
(i). from *Le coucher de la mariée* etched by Moreau le Jeune, after Baudouin.

(ii). at Vaux-le-Vicomte.



7 4 g(i). ("*lit à la Duchesse*") in *Chambre de Parade.* end view. Blondel. J-F. (1737-8).

DECORATION D'UNE CHAMBRE DE PARADE VUE DU CÔTÉ DE LA CHEMINÉE. Premier Volume Planche 1.re Partie 1.ere

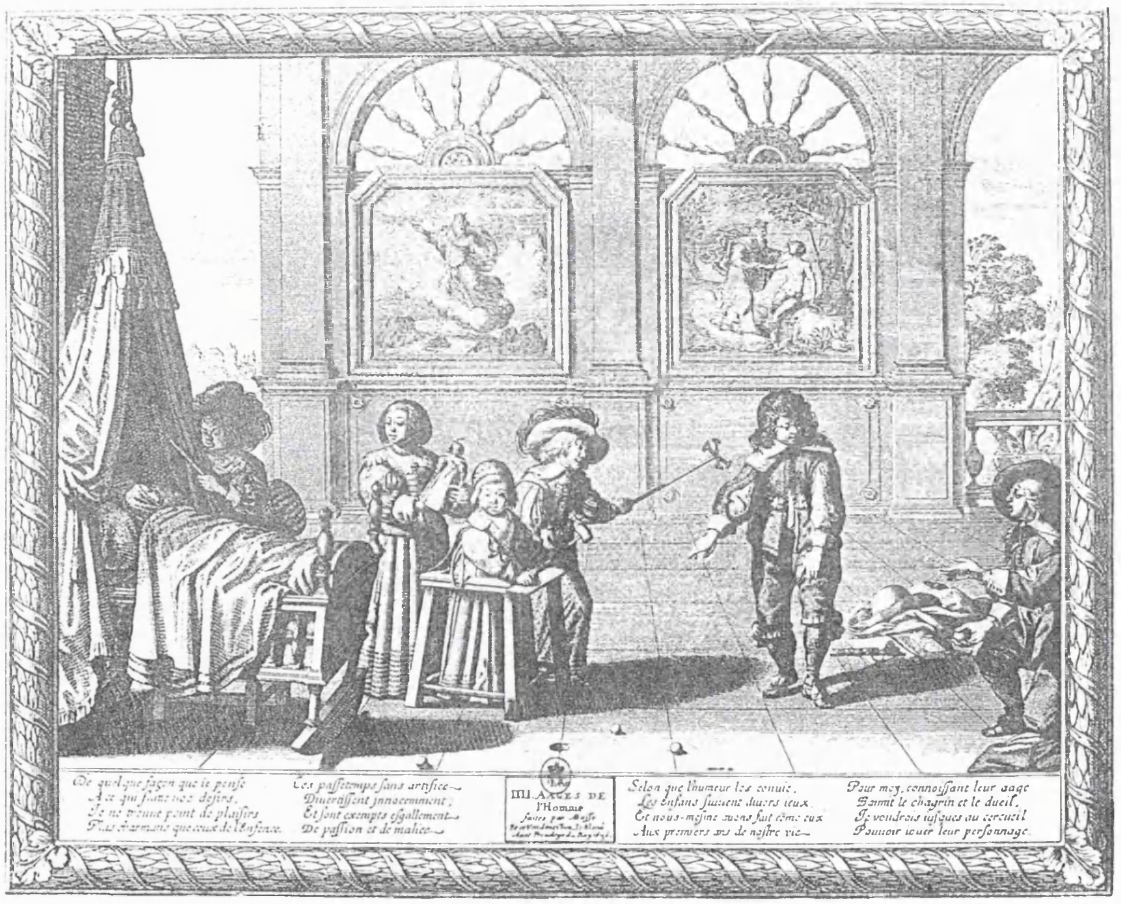


A. *Dossier occupé par un pilastre*
B. *Porte à placard à doubles ventaux*
C. *Grand panneaux qui s'élève de dessus le lambris d'appuy.*

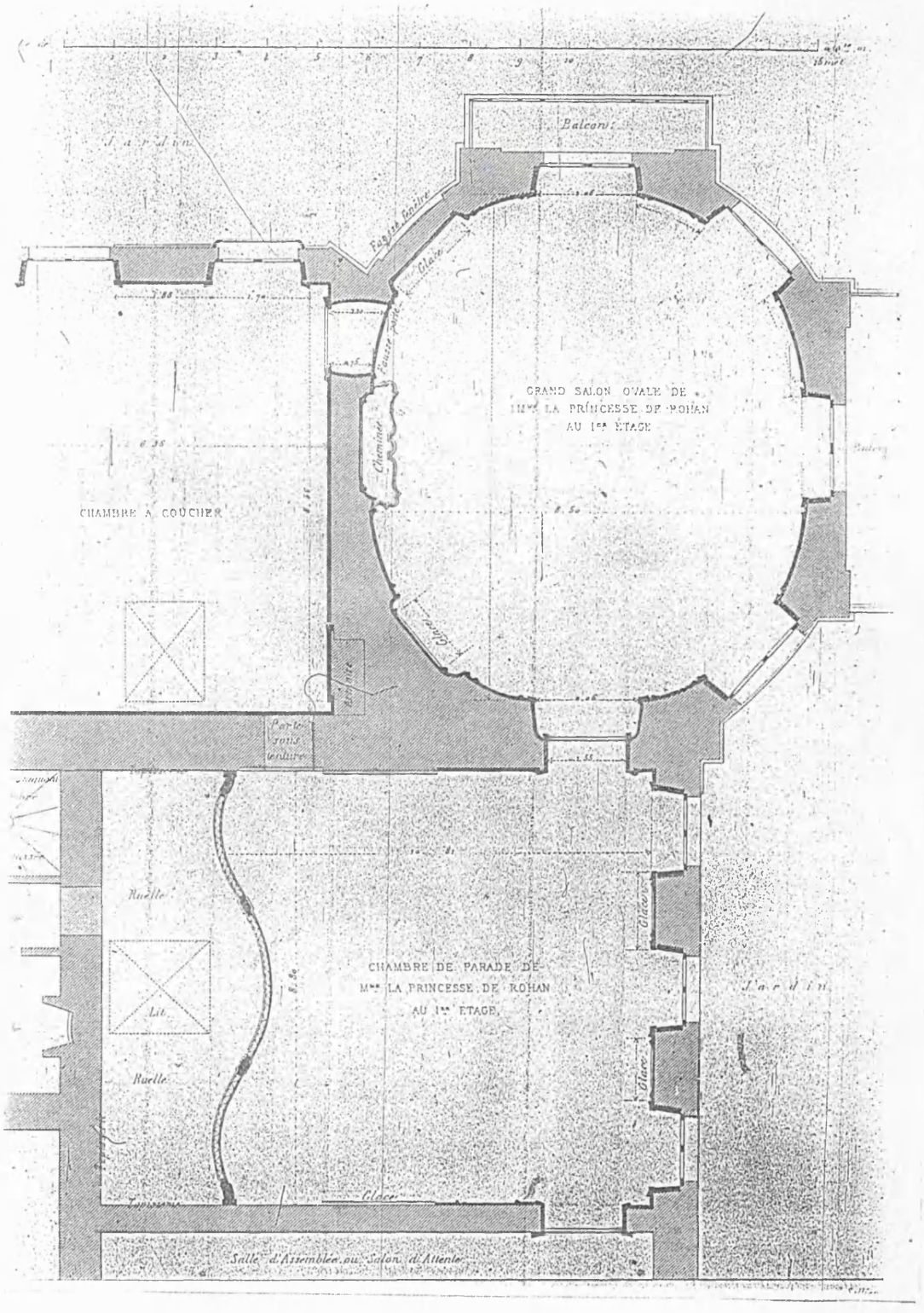
Echelle de 12 Pieds.

D. *Colonne Corinthienne élevé sur son Piedestal, formant l'Alcove.*
E. *Porte de dégagement sortant dans les garderobes*
F. *Lit de parade vû par le profil.*

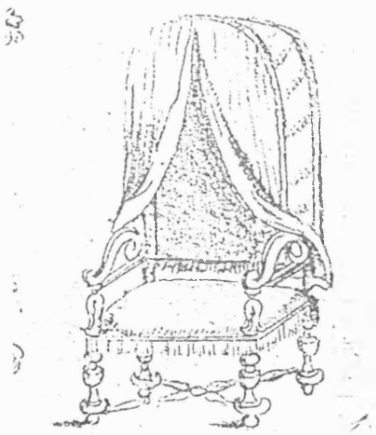
7 4 g(ii). ("*lit à la Duchesse*") in *Chambre de Parade.* side view. Blondel. J-F. (1737-8).



7 4h . Child's bed. *Les Quatre ages de l'homme — L'Enfance.* Bosse, A.



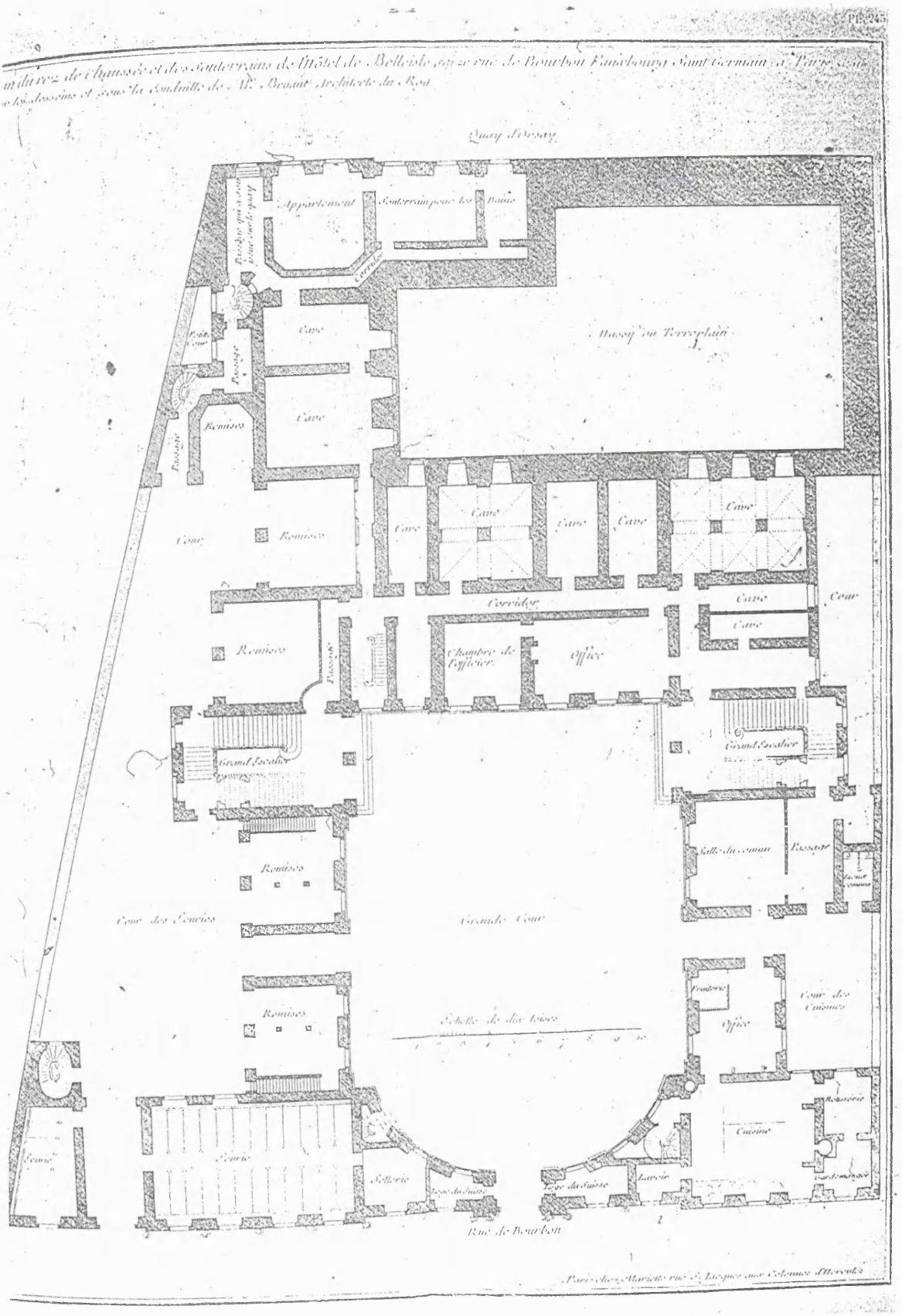
75. Plan of *Chambre de Parade* with balustrade, and two *ruelles*.



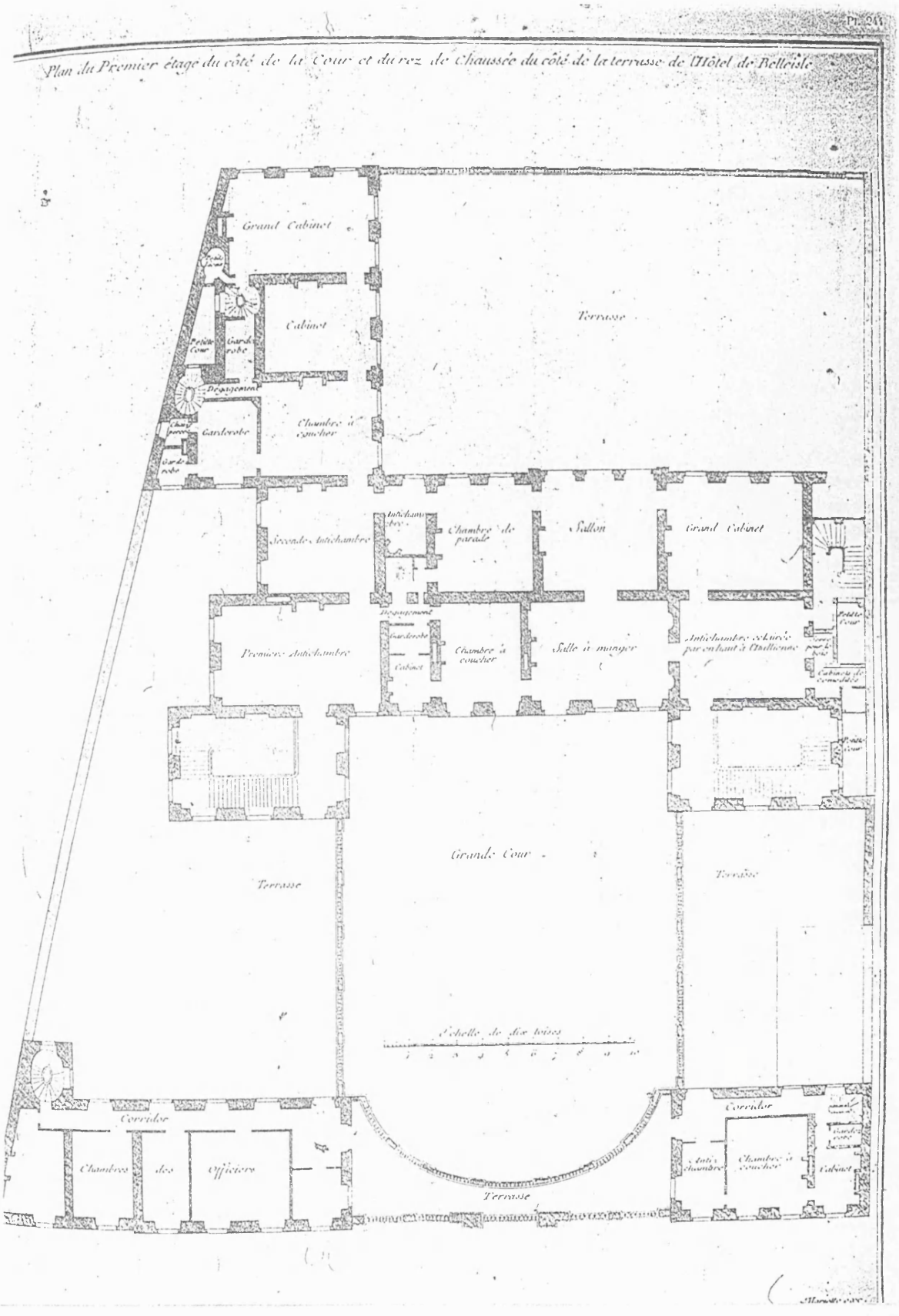
7 6 . *Fauteuil en confessional ?.*

a . easy chair with a canopy-like enclosure

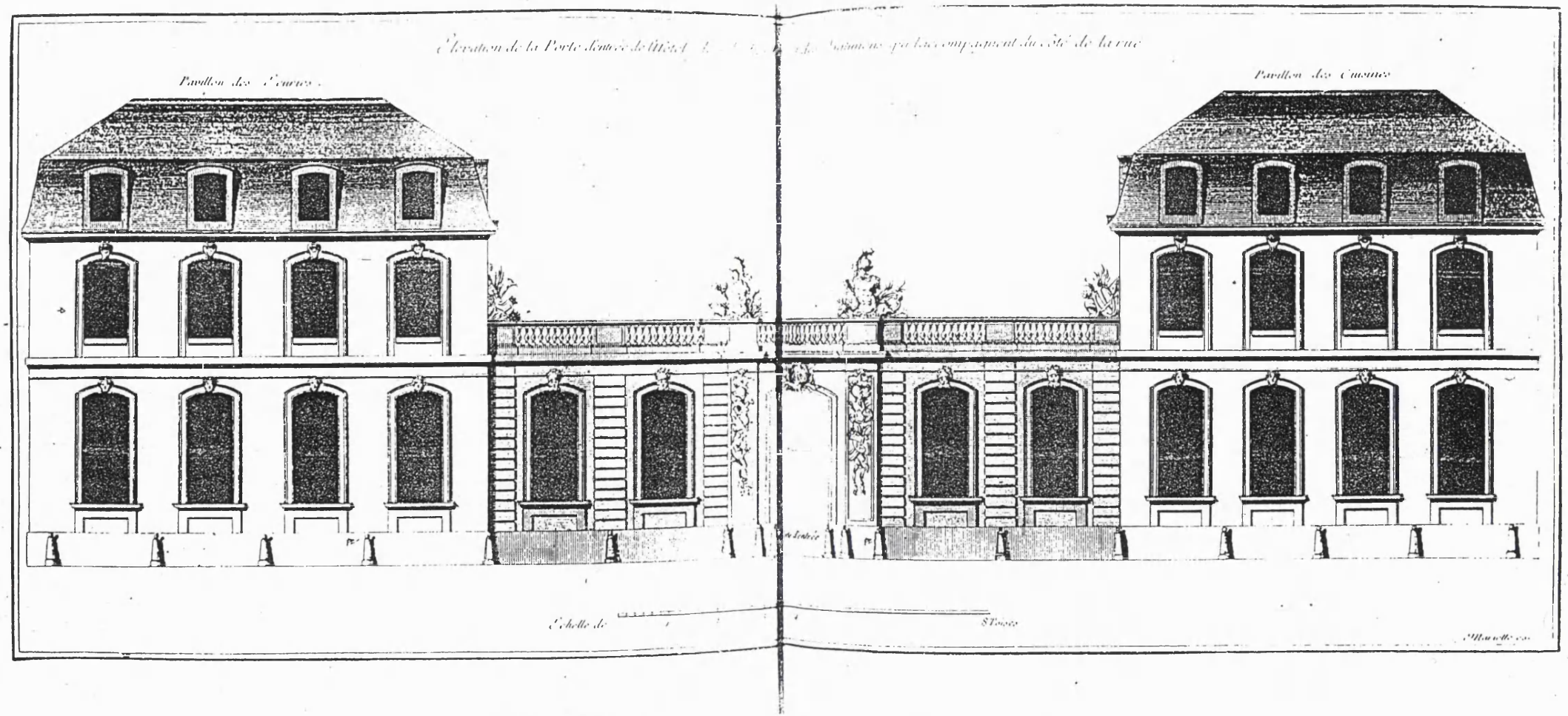
b . winged arm-chair



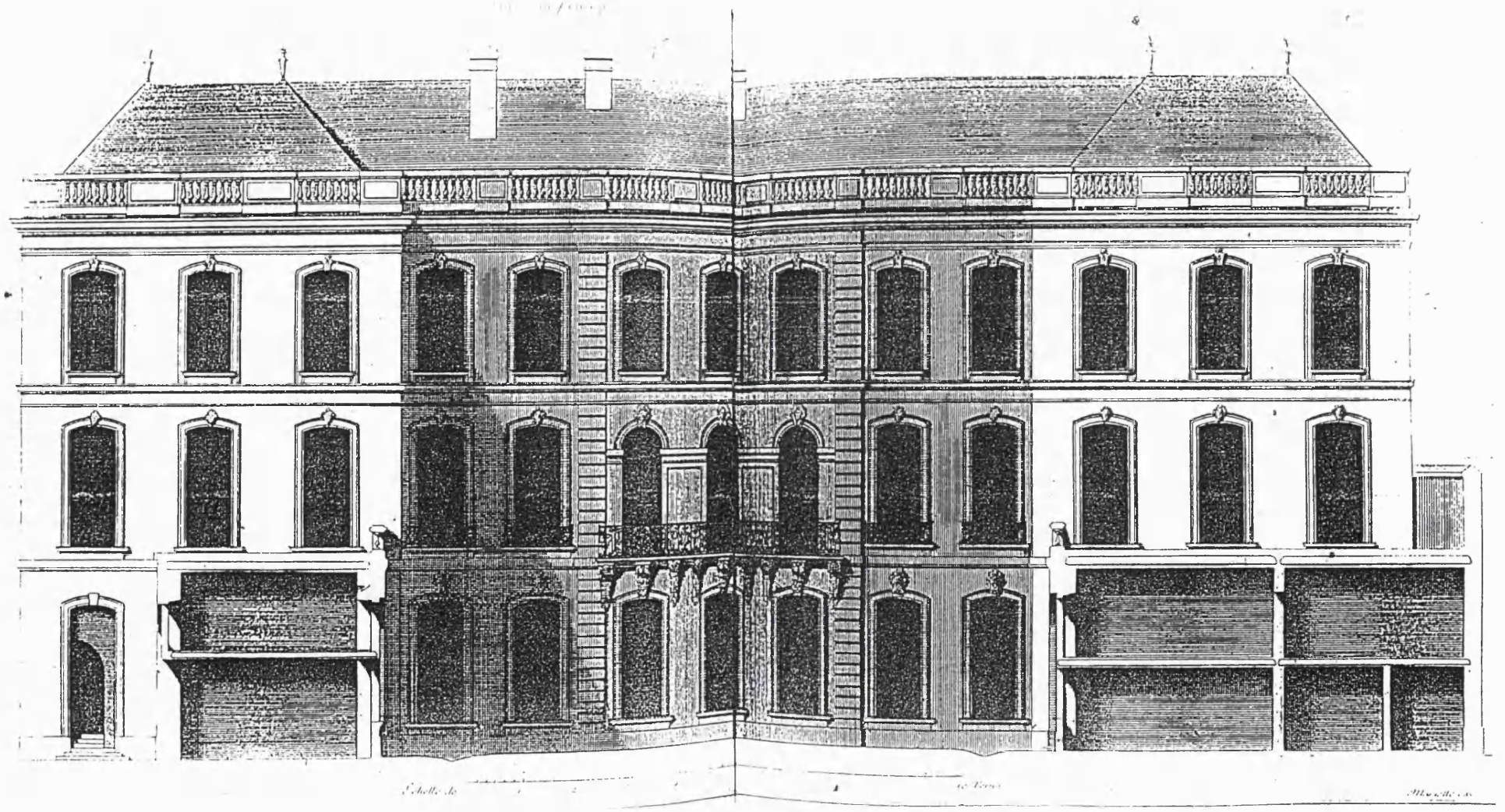
77a. Hôtel de Belle-Isle (1721). Ground floor plan.



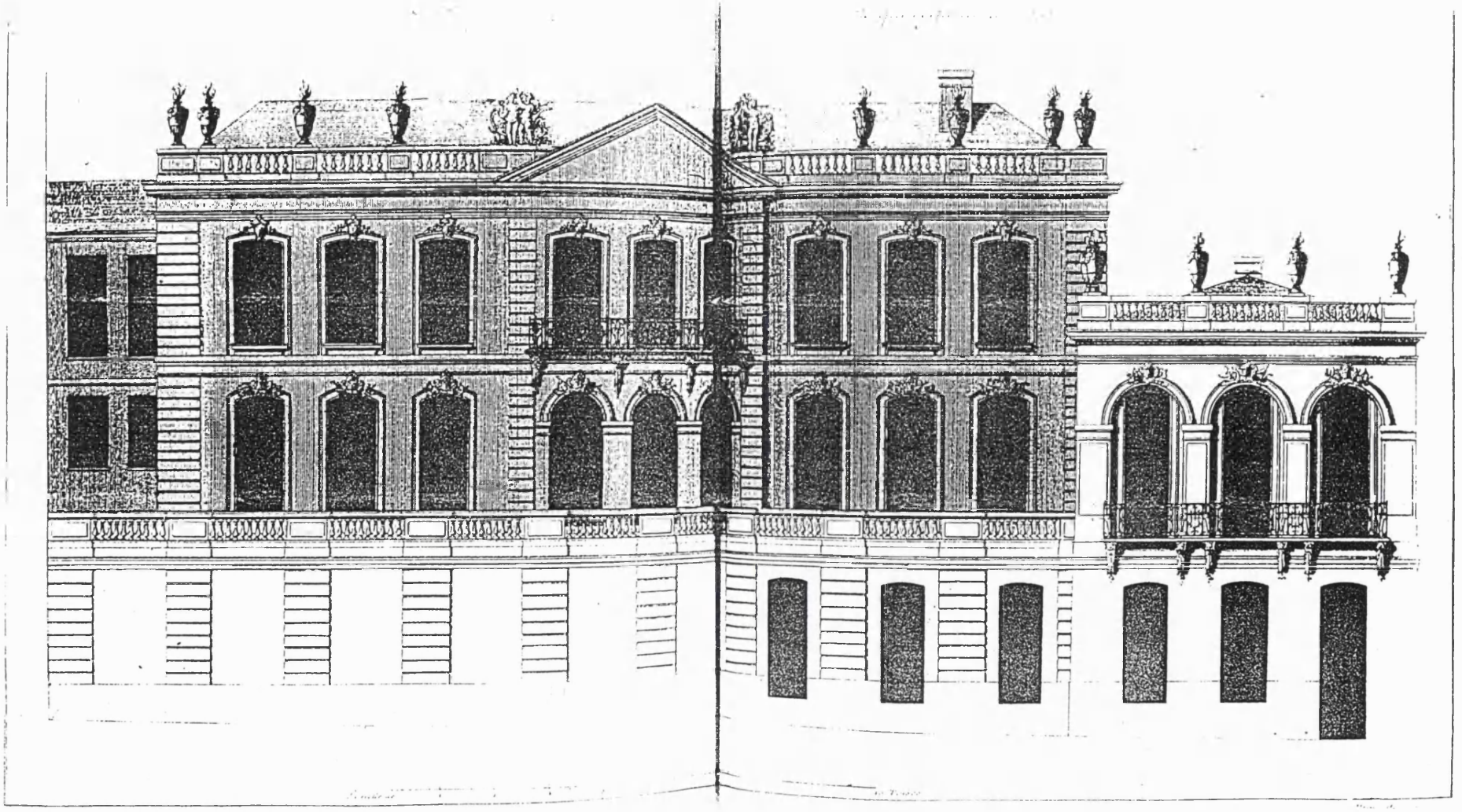
77b. Hôtel de Belle-Isle (1721). First floor plan.



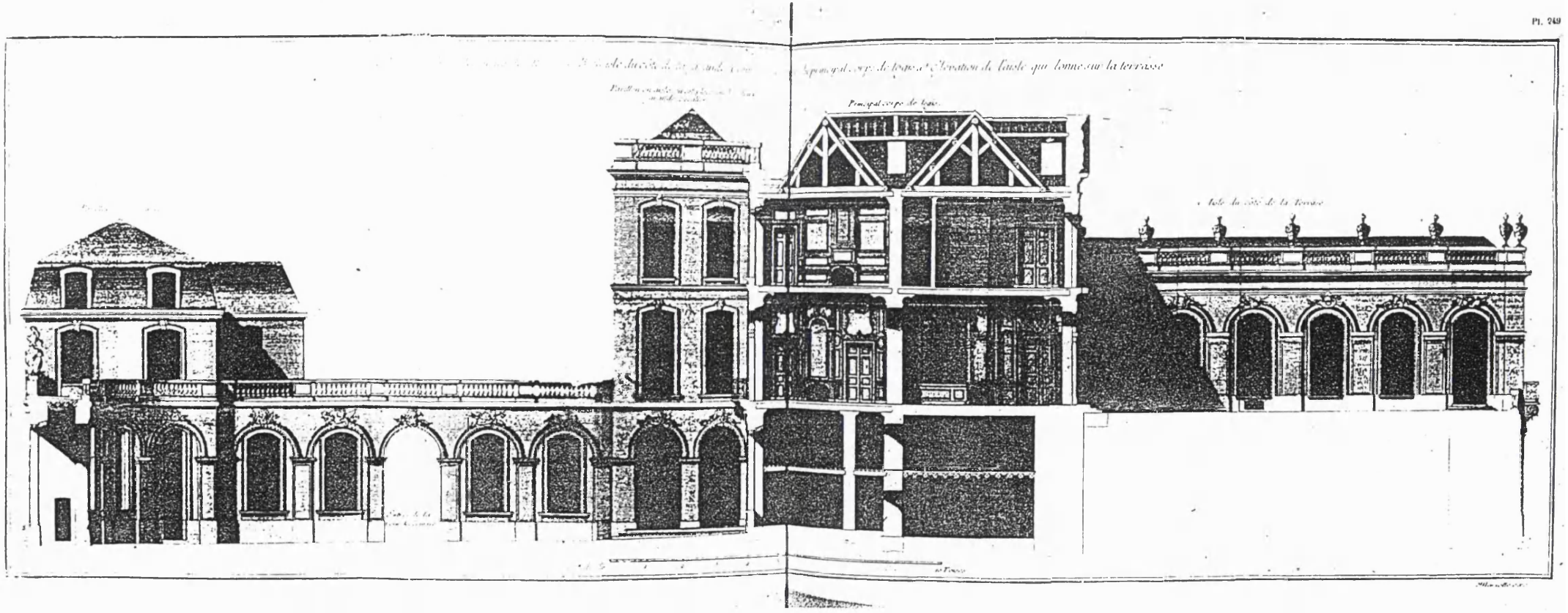
7 7c. Hôtel de Belle-Isle (1721). Elevation from rue de Bourbon.



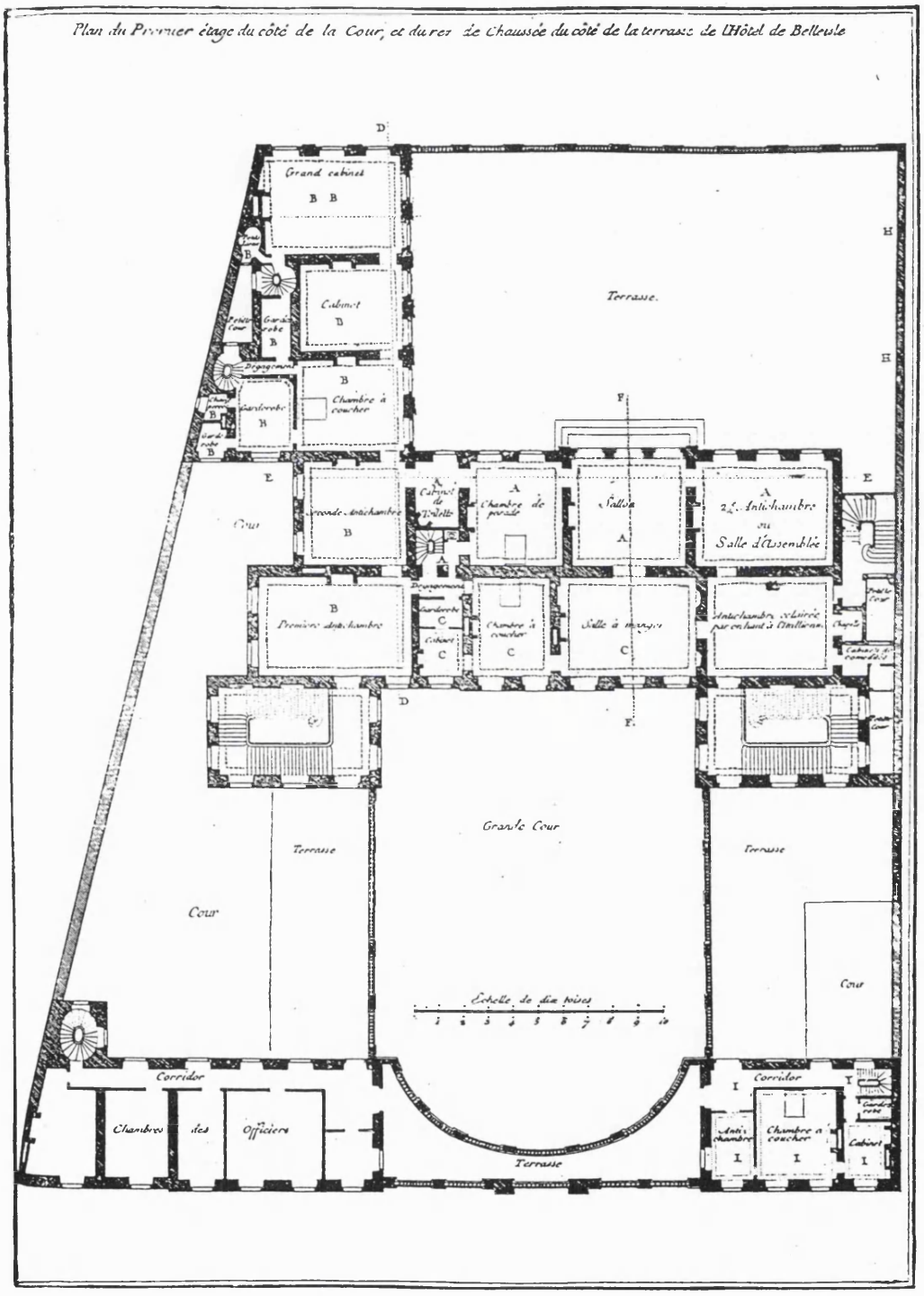
7 7d . Hôtel de Belle-Isle (1721). Elevation of the *corps-de-logis* from the courtyard.



7 7e . Hôtel de Belle-Isle (1721). Elevation from quai d'Orsay.

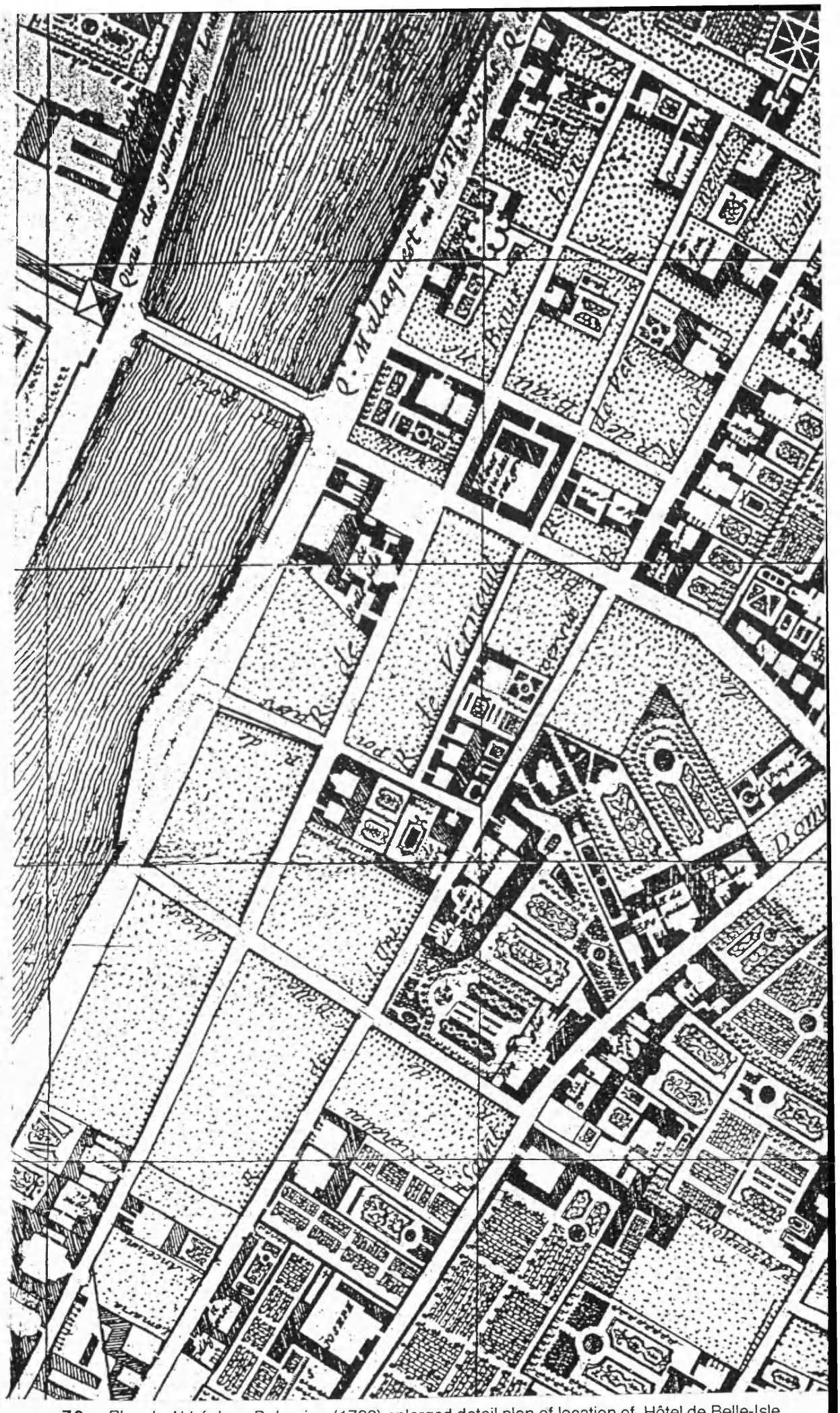


77f. Hôtel de Belle-Isle (1721). sectional elevation.

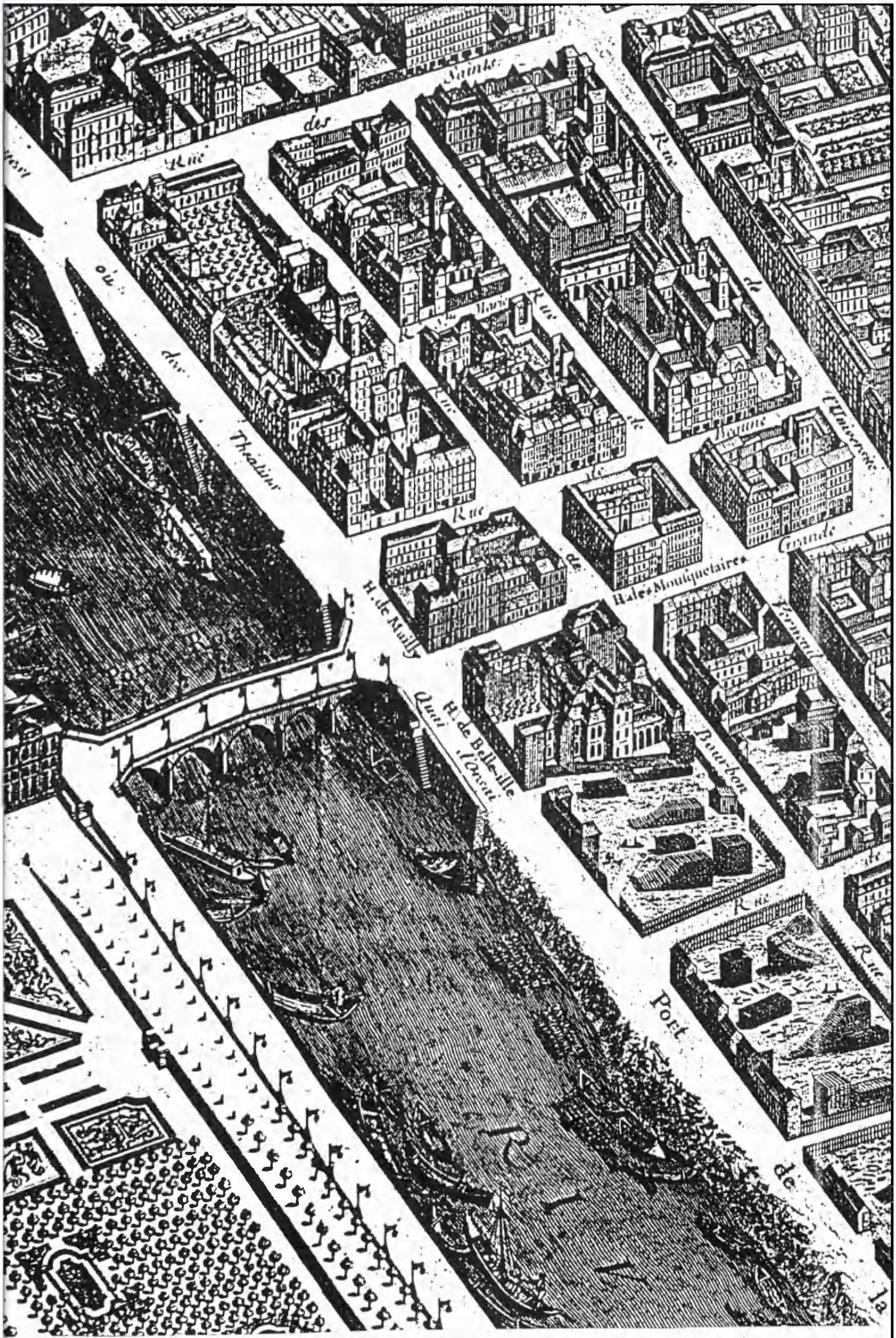


78. Hôtel de Belle-Isle (1721) by Bruant, F.

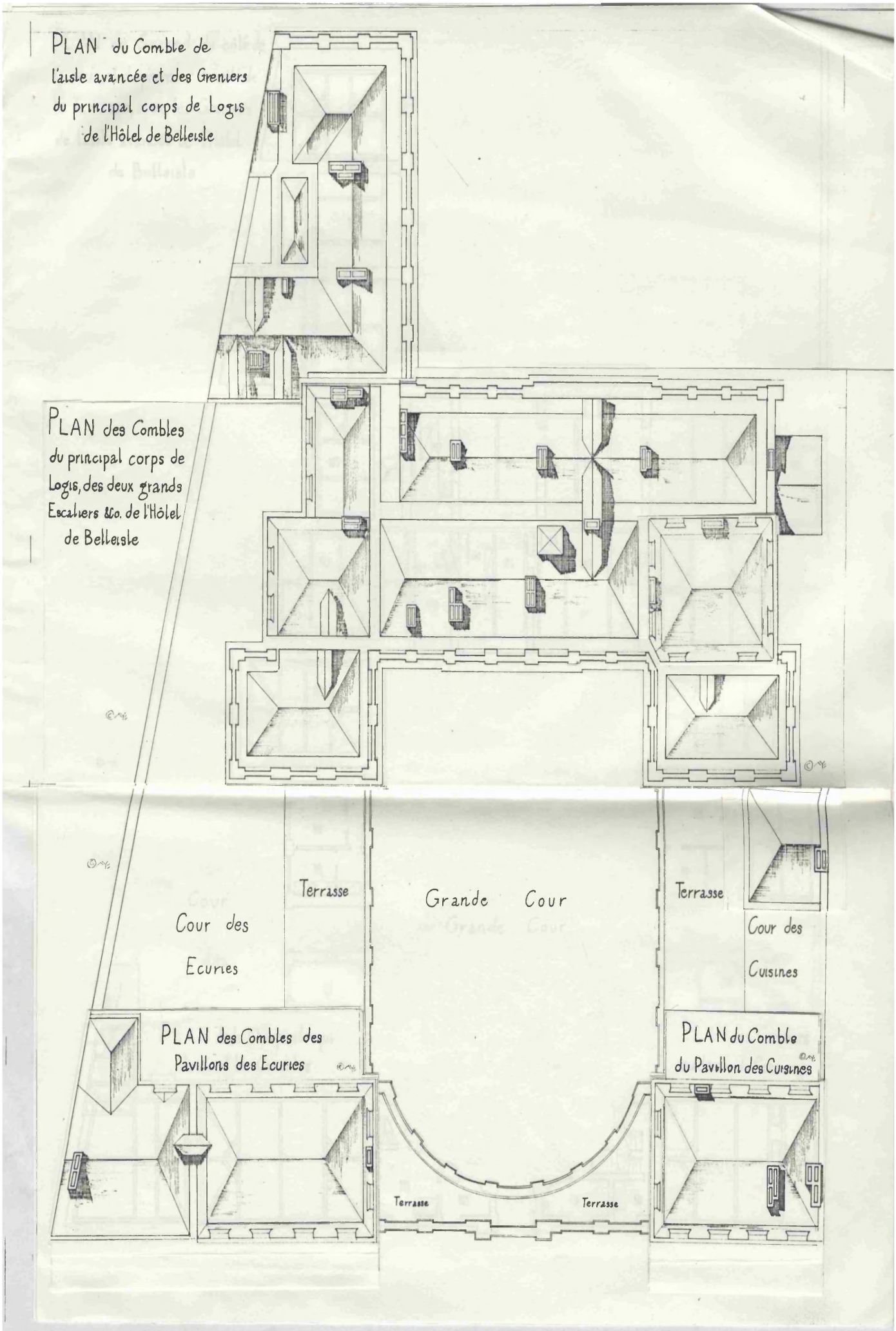
First floor plan with added explanatory markings by Blondel, J-F.



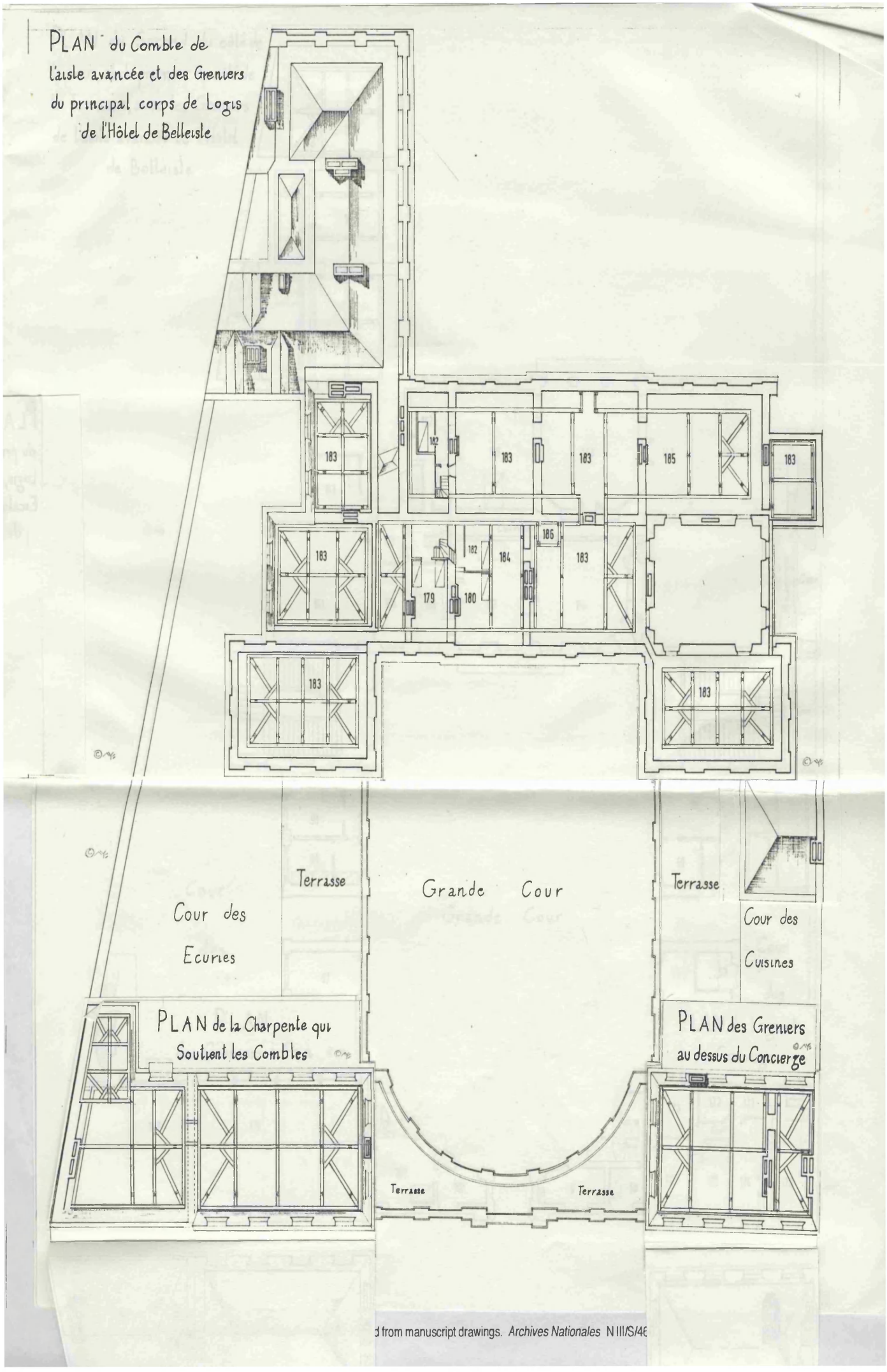
79a. *Plan de Abbé Jean Delagrive* (1728) enlarged detail plan of location of Hôtel de Belle-Isle.


Rue
des
Saints
Rue
Rue
de
Rue
Rue
de
Rue
Rue
de
Rue
Grande
Rue
de
Rue
Rue
de
Rue
Rue
de
Rue

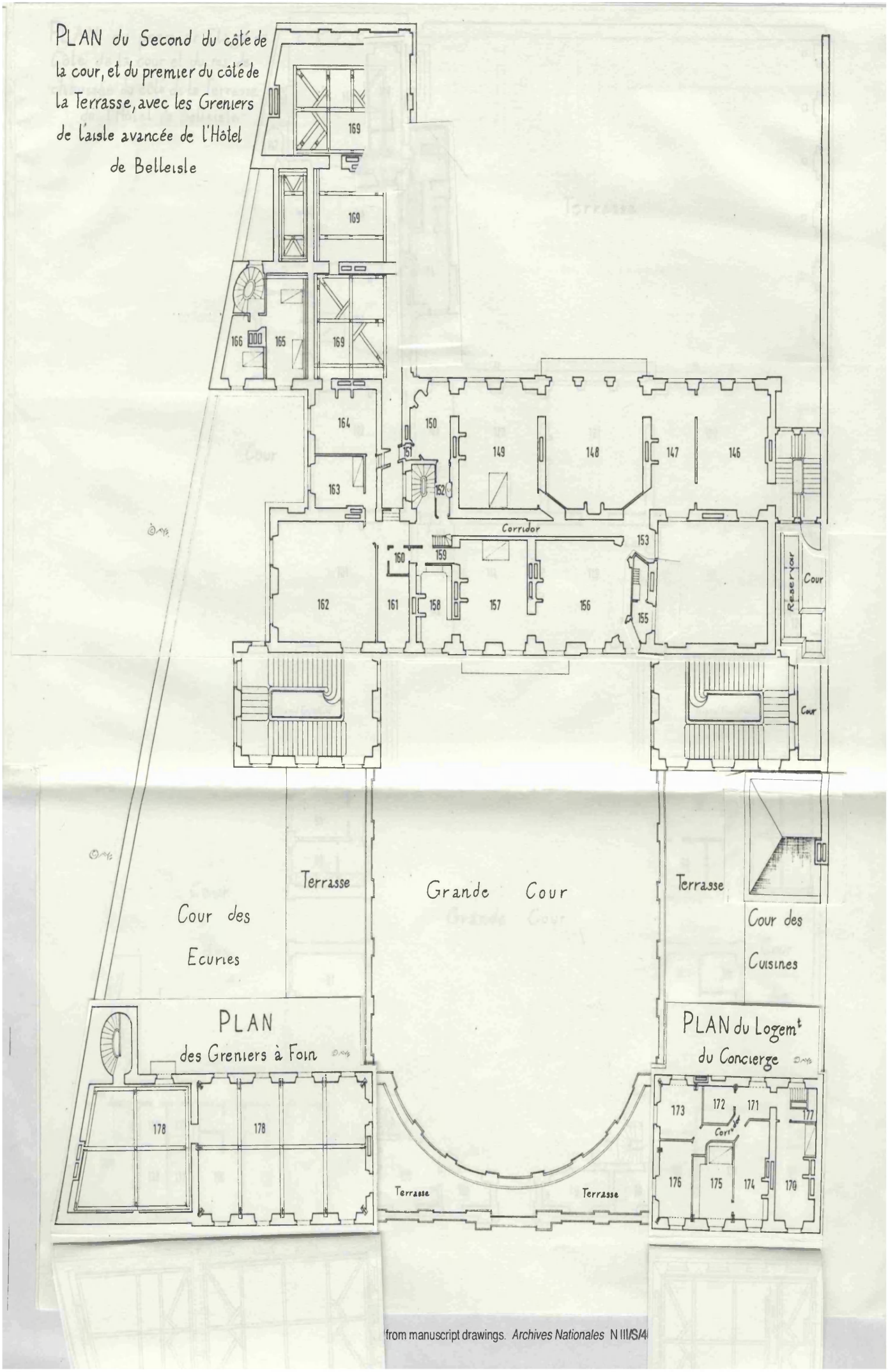
To protect plate 80a, the acetate sheet should be folded in, covering the face of the plate.



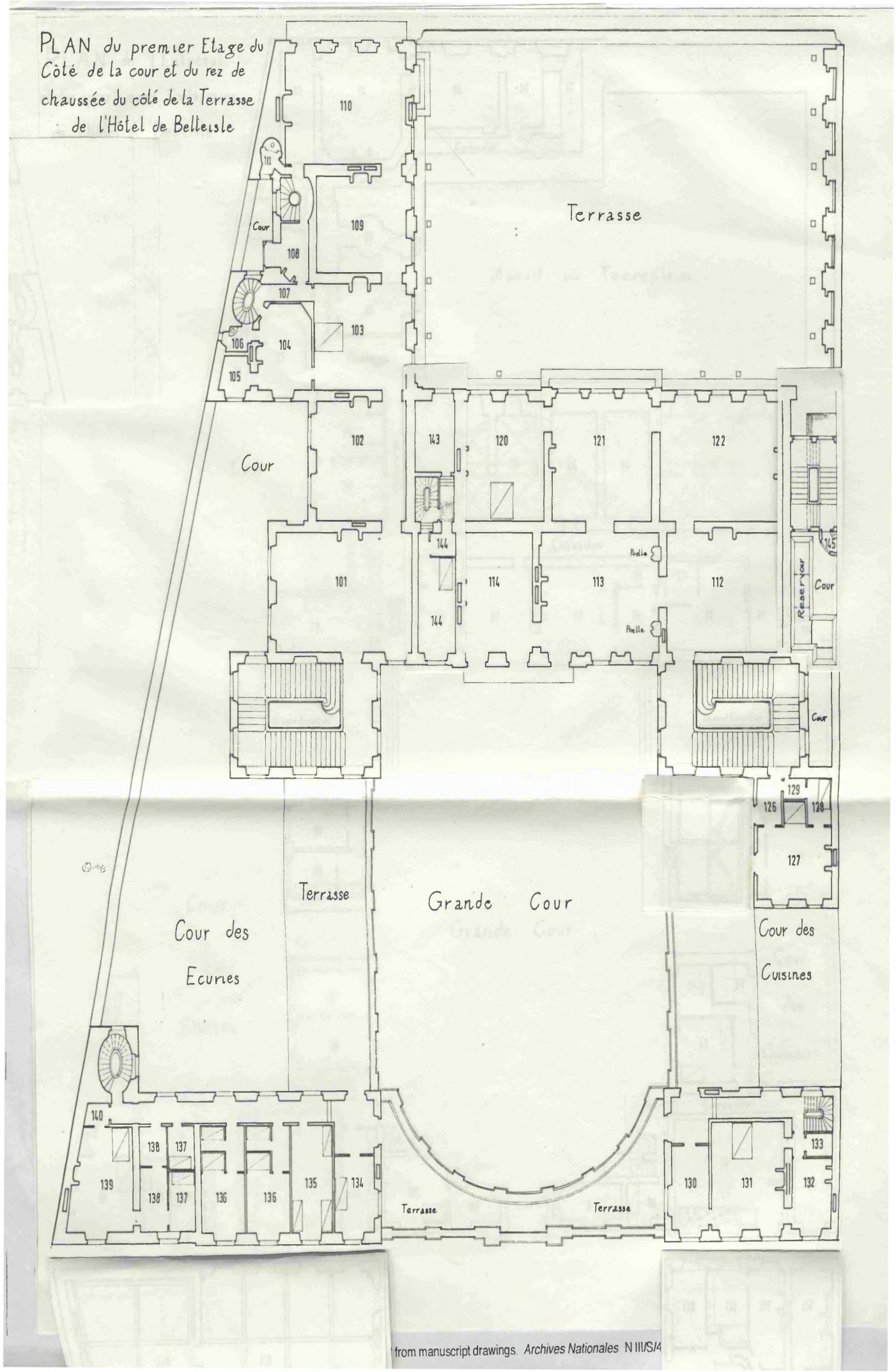
80a. Hôtel de Belle-Isle 17?? traced from manuscript drawings. *Archives Nationales* N III/S/468.



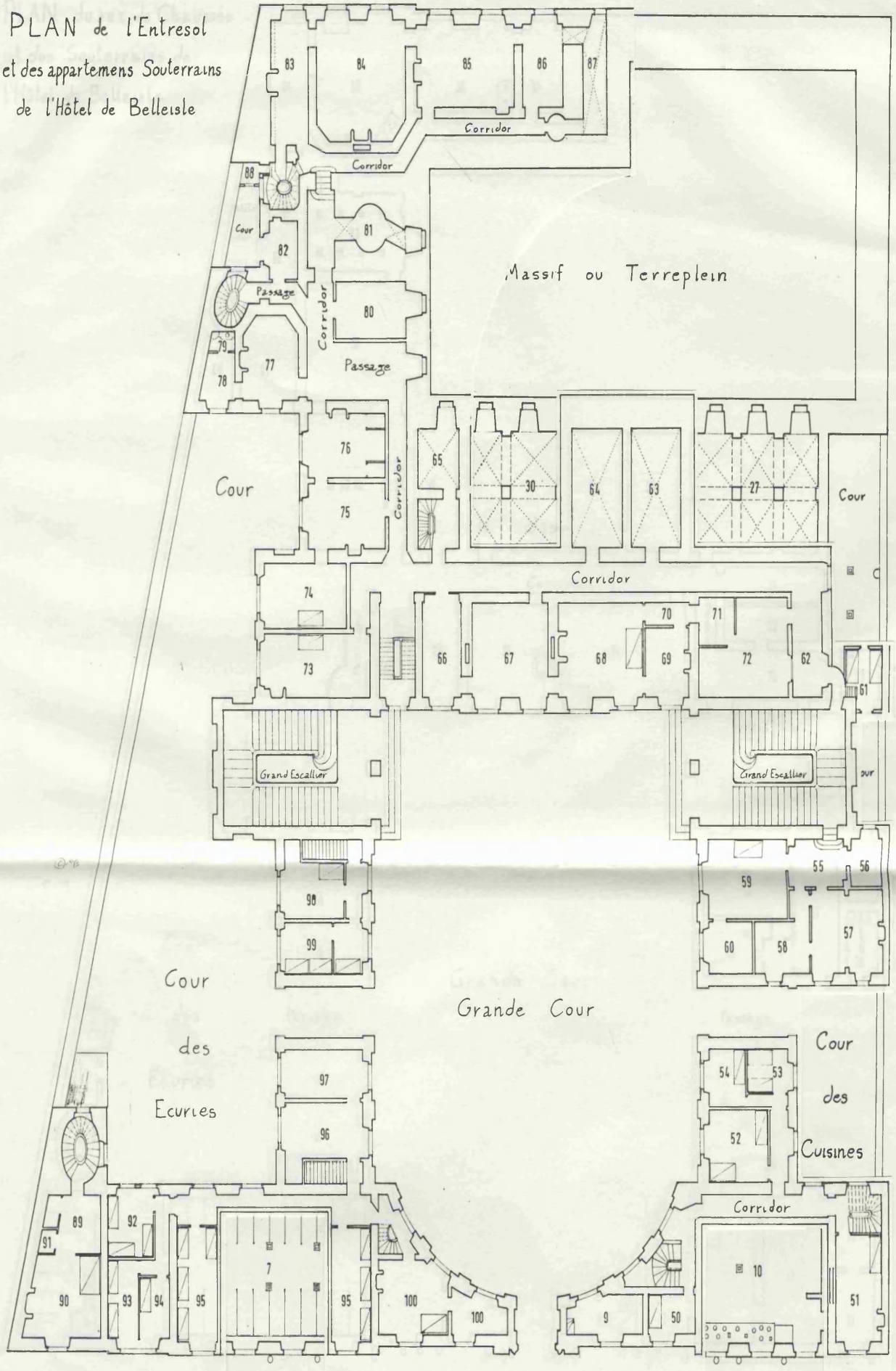
d from manuscript drawings. *Archives Nationales* N III/S/4



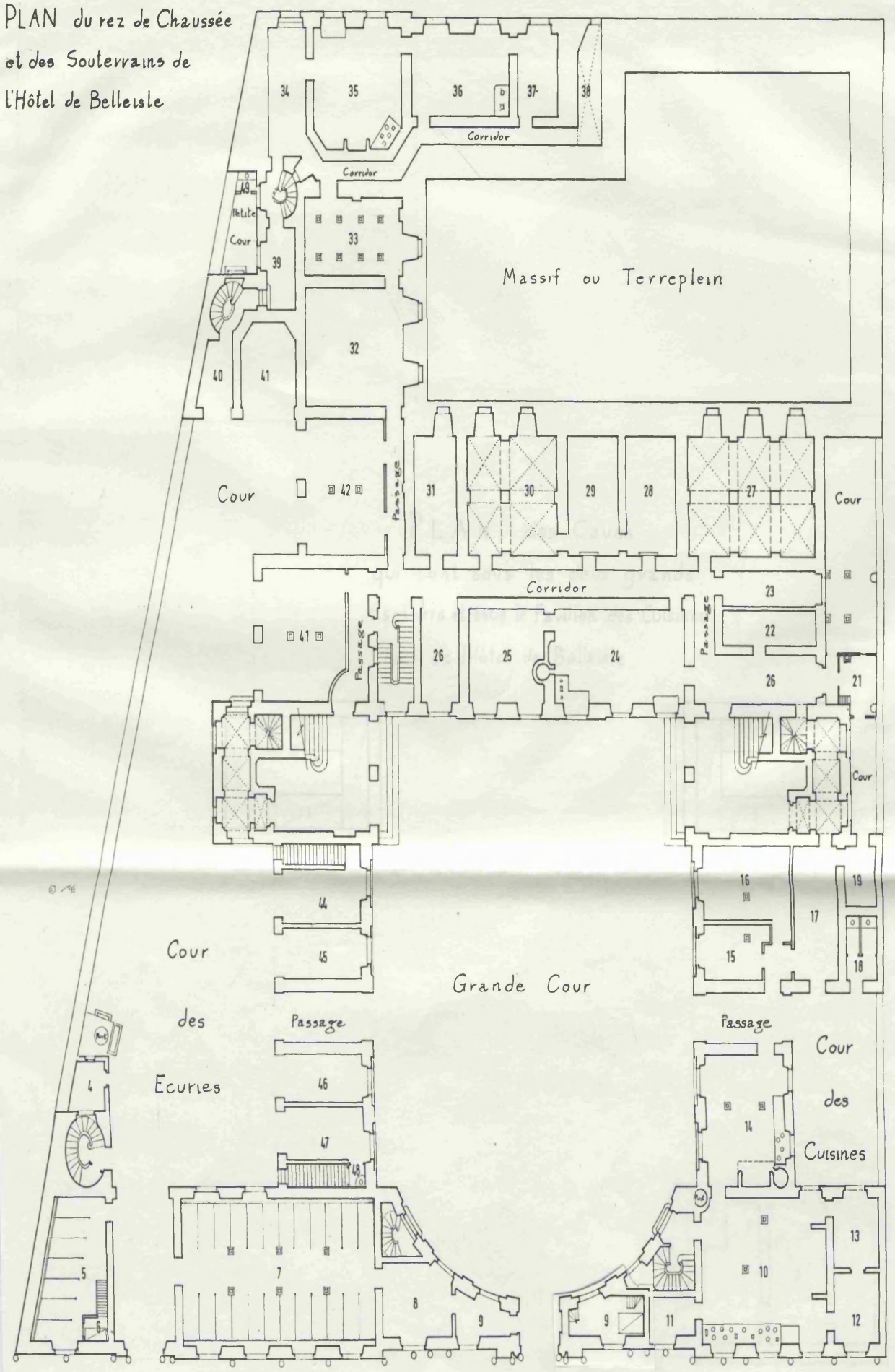
from manuscript drawings. *Archives Nationales* N III/S/4



from manuscript drawings. *Archives Nationales* N III/S/4

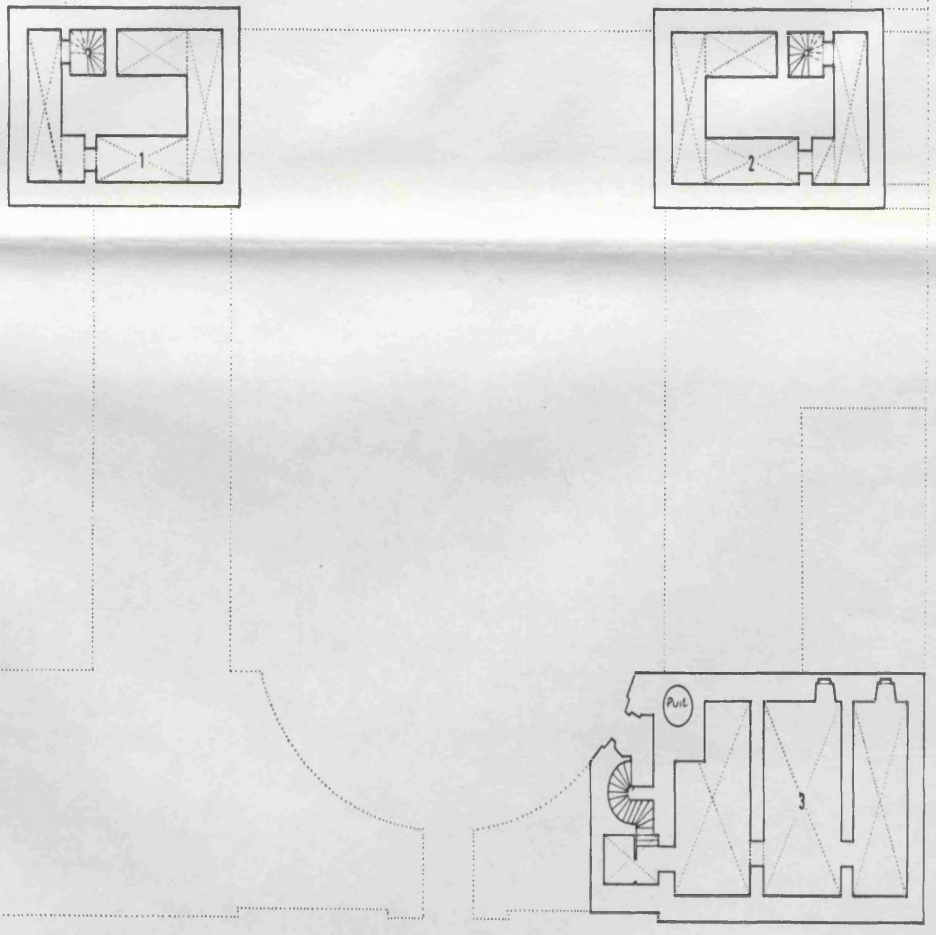


80a. Hôtel de Belle-Isle 17?? traced from manuscript drawings. *Archives Nationales* N III/S/468.



30a. Hôtel de Belle-Isle 17?? traced from manuscript drawings. *Archives Nationales* N III/S/468.

PLAN des Caves
qui sont sous les deux grands
Escaliers et sous le Pavillon des Cuisines
de l'Hôtel de Belleisle



80a. Hôtel de Belle-Isle 17?? traced from manuscript drawings. *Archives Nationales* N III/S/468.

DEVELOPMENT
DE L'HOTEL DE
M.GR LE MARECHAL DUC DE
BELLEISLE.

Comprenant la distribution des differents Etages selon l'ordre de la legende ci dessous.

LEGENDE.

Caves.

1 Cave sous le Gr. escalier à gauche
2 Cave sous leg.d escalier à droite.
3 Caves sous le Pavillon des Cuisines.

Rez de Chausseé

4 Petite Chambre ou l'on met l'avoine.
5 Ecurie pour sept Chevaux
6 Supende pour coucher un palfrenier.
7 Ecurie pour vingtquatre Chevaux.
8 Chambre ou l'on met l'avoine.
9 Logement du Suisse.
10 Cuisine.
11 Lavoir.
12 Garde manger.
13 autre garde manger.
14 Salle du commun ou de la livrée.
15 la Serre
16 Chambre ou l'on met la Porcelaine.
17 Passage.
18 Lieux Communs.
19 Serre où l'officier met les moules pour la patisserie.
20 Passage.
21 Lavoir.
22 la Fruiterie.
23 la Charbonnier.
24 l'Office.
25 arriere Office.
26 atteller pour les ouvriers qu'on veut faire travailler.
27 Grande cave.
28 et 29 Caveaux
30 Grande Cave au bois
31 Caveau au bois pour la poelle.
32 Cave aux bois
33 autre Cave pour le bois.
34 Passage qui communique sur le quay
35 Cuisine dans le Souterrain
36 l'Office
37 Lavoir
38 Petit souterrain
39 et 40 Passages qui communiquent du Quay dans la cour des Ecuries.
41,42,43,44,45,46 et 47 Remises
48 et 49 Lieux Communs.

Entre-sol

50 Chambre du chef de Cuisine
51 Chambre du maitre d'Hotel.
52 Chambre du Patissier et du Rotisseur.
53 Chambre des Garcons de Cuisine.
54 Chambre de l'aide de Cuisine.
55 entrée.
56, 57, et 58 Cabinet, Chambre, et Bureau du Trésorier.
59 et 60, Chambre et Cabinet du Chef d'Office.
61 Apprentiss d'Office.
62 Passage.
63 et 64 Caveaux.
65 Caveau ou l'on met le tabac d'Espagne

Suitte de l'entre-sol.

66 antichambre de M.r le Comte de Gisors.
67 Salle de Compagnies.
68 Chambre à coucher.
69 Cabinet.
70 Garderobe.
71 Chambre de domestiques.
72 Chambre noir.
73 Chambre de la p.re femme de Chambre de Mad.e la Comtesse de Gisors.
74 Chambre du prein. Valet de Chambre de M.r le Comte de Gisors
75 et 76, antichambre et Chambre de Secrétaire
77 et 78 Chambre et Cabinet de Secrétaire
79 Garderobe à l'Angloise
80 et 81, Caveaux
82 Chambre de Domestique
83 antichambre du Souterrain
84 Sallon.
85 Chambre.
86 Cabinet.
87 Petit Souterrain
88 Petit Cabinet où l'on met du Tabac
89, 90 et 91 antichambre, Chambre à coucher et Garderobe de l'Ecuyer
92 Chambre des Cochers.
93 Chambre des laveurs de la Cuisine
94 Chambre de domestique
95 Chambres des Palfreniers
96 et 97 sellerie
98 Chambre de l'aide d'Office
99 Chambre des Frotteurs.
100 Chambre et cabinet de l'infirmerie

Premier Etage

101 Premier antichambre de M.r le Mal
102 Second antichambre.
103 Chambre à coucher.
104 Cabinet.
105 Petit Cabinet.
106 Garde robe.
107 Passage.
108 Cabinet.
109 Salon de Compagnies.
110 Grand salon sur la riviere.
111 Garde robe à l'angloise.
112 Grande antichambre
113 Salle à manger
114 Chambre du Baldaquin.
115 Cabinet à écrire
116 Garde robe a l'angloise
117 Passage.
118 Garde robe.
119 Cabinet de toillette
120 Chambre à coucher
121 Salle de Compagnies.
122 Chambre du Dais.
123 Chapelle
124 Petite chambre qui sert de passage
125 Commodité.

Suitte du prem.r Etage

126,127,128et 129, antichambre, chambre à coucher, cabinet et garderobe de l'aumonier.
130,131,132 et 133, antichambre, chambre à coucher, cabinet et garderobe de l'Intendant
134 Chambre du maitre d'Hotel
135 Chambre des Laquais
136 Chambres des sous Secrétaires
137 Chambres des domestiques
138,139 et 140, antichambre, Chambre à coucher et garderobe pour les Etrangers.

Entresol entre le premr et le Second

141 Logement de valet de Chambre
142 autre Logement de valet de chambre
143 Chambre de valet de chambre.
144 Chambre de Femme de chambre.
145 Lieux dans le grand escalier du second.

Second Etage

146 Premier antichambre.
147 Second antichambre.
148 Sale de Compagnies.
149 Chambre à coucher.
150 Cabinet de toillette.
151 priedieu
152 Garderobe à l'Angloise.
153 Tribunes
154 endroit pour se poudrer.
155 Supente pour coucher un domestique
156 Sale de Compagnies.
157 Chambre a coucher.
158 Cabinet.
159 Passage.
160 Garderobe
161 Garde robe pour les Habits
162 Garde meuble
163 Chambre de valet de chambre
164 autre Chambre de valet de Chambre.
165 Chambre de Laquais
166 petite chambre du Courreur.

Entresol audessus du Second

167 Chambre du Secrétaire de M. le Comte
168 Logement de valet de Chambre
169 Greniers de l'aisle avancée sur le quay

Logement du consierge

170 Cuisine
171 Entrée. 172 petit endroit noir
173 Petite chambre.
174 autre petite Chambre.
175 Chambre à coucher
176 Chambre aux Linges
177 endroit ou lon tient l'huille des lampes

Greniers.

178 Greniers à foin.
179 Petite Chambre l'ambrissée de 2 portes
180, 181 et 182 petites chambres de Laquais
183 Greniers, 184 [torn]
185 Grenier ser[torn]
186 e[torn]

Echelle de Douze Toises

80b. *Legende* which is attached to the right-hand side of the *Plan des Caves...sous les deux grands Escaliers...*